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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY ^{Government} Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF

- (a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
- (b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
- FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE

and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION, OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE PROPOSED PIPELINE

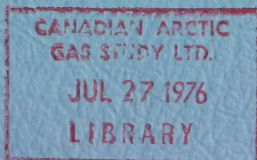
(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 20, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 166



APPEARANCES:

- 1 Mr. Ian G. Scott, Q.C.,
- 2 Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
- 3 Mr. Alick Ryder, and
- 4 Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline Inquiry;
- 5 Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
- 6 Mr. Jack Marshall,
- 7 Mr. Darryl Carter, and
- 8 Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipe-
line Limited;
- 9 Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
- 10 Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and
- 11 Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;
- 12 Mr. Russell Anthony,
- 13 Prof. Alastair Lucas and
- 14 Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources
Committee;
- 15 Mr. Glen W. Bell and
- 16 Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories
Indian Brotherhood, and
17 Metis Association of the
18 Northwest Territories;
- 19 Mr. John Bayly and
- 20 Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,
and The Committee for
21 Original Peoples Entitle-
22 ment;
- 23 Mr. Ron Veale and
- 24 Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon
Indians;
- 25 Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection
Board;
- 26 Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C.
- 27 for Northwest Territories
Chamber of Commerce;
- 28 Mr. Murray Sigler and for The Association of Munici-
29 palities;
- 30 Mr. David Reesor,
- 31 Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial,
Shell & Gulf);
- 32 Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association
of the Northwest Territor-
ies.

CANADIAN ARCTIC
GAS STUDY LTD.

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347
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Vol. 166

I N D E XPage

WITNESSES FOR FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD.:

John Keith BURRELL

John Russell ELLWOOD

Maureen Elaine JENSEN

John B. MacLEOD

- Cross-Examination by Mrs. MacQuarrie (cont)

25680

- Cross-Examination by Mr. Scott (cont)

25691

WITNESSES FOR C.O.P.E.:

Hugh BRODY

Peter J. USHER

Grahame BEAKHUST

- In Chief

25773

EXHIBITS:

673 Table IV, "Northwest Territories Infant
Mortality Rate per 1,000 Live Births"

25729

674 Qualifications of Messrs. Brody & Beakhust

25854

675 "Industrial Impact" by H. Brody

25854

676 "The Traditional Economy of the Western
Arctic" by P.J. Usher

25854

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 20, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Sorry to be late, Ms. Jensen and gentlemen. We're ready to proceed.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Sir, there are a few preliminary matters before Mr. Scott proceeds again. The document which Mr. Reesor requested the name of yesterday with respect to housing and the grant system is by Strong, Lamb & Nelson Limited, Engineers, Surveyors and Planners, called,

"Housing Program, Proposals for Home Operations and Home Acquisition Assistance," and it's prepared for the Northwest Territories Housing Corporation, published in Edmonton in 1975.

I've spoken with Mrs. MacQuarrie this morning. She has a study which she would like Ms. Jensen to speak to. Ms. Jensen hasn't had the opportunity of reading that study yet, and we propose that if Ms. Jensen cannot read it during the time that this panel is on, that possibly Ms. Jensen and perhaps Mr. Ellwood could be recalled at some agreeable time later in the week to answer questions for Mrs. MacQuarrie, or alternatively, Ms. Jensen could answer those questions when Panel 2 is on, because we have agreed that she would be on that panel.

I have also distributed to the participants, sir, two documents, one called

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

"Distribution Study, Gas in Northern Communities,"
which was prepared by Great Northern Gas and referred
to yesterday by Mr. Burrell; and also another study
prepared by Foothills in October, 1975, entitled,
"Forecast Costs of No. 2 Light Fuel Oil in
the Northwest Territorial Communities to be
Served by Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd."

I'd like to file both those
documents with the Commission, sir.

THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

Any questions?

MR. SCOTT: Mrs. MacQuarrie?

MRS. MacQUARRIE: I think I
do have, but she was going to read the report first,
wasn't she?

MR. SCOTT: Yes, but are there
any other questions apart from that?

I take it, Mr. Commissioner,
the way it's left, Miss Jensen will read the report that
Mrs. MacQuarrie has tendered and am I right, is that
the report of Mr. Dear?

MRS. MacQUARRIE: Yes.

JOHN KEITH BURRELL,

JOHN RUSSELL ELLWOOD,

MAUREEN ELAINE JENSEN,

JOHN B. MacLEOD, resumed:

MR. SCOTT: And on the assumption
that you can't respond to that today, not having read it,
you will be available on a subsequent panel to --

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

WITNESS JENSEN: Yes, I will."

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Or later in
the week.

MR. SCOTT: All right, this week.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MRS. MacQUARRIE (CONTINUED):

Q Miss Jensen, on page 21
in relationship to staff, you mention that authorized
guests of Foothills will be allowed into this tavern.

WITNESS JENSEN: Excuse me,
Mrs. MacQuarrie, I cannot hear you.

Q I'm sorry, too. On page
21, authorized guests of Foothills will be allowed to
drink at the campsite.

A I think you've given me
the wrong page number.

Q Sorry. Question 21-A,
I'm sorry.

A I believe that's in
Mr. Ellwood's evidence.

WITNESS ELLWOOD: Yes, I have
that, Mrs. MacQuarrie.

Q Could you tell me who these
authorized guests might be?

A No, I really don't know
who they might be, just people who are interested in
seeing the project, perhaps, and who we might bring out
if some useful purpose could be gained by having their
visit to the camp then we would allow that.

Q Are you thinking of

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

staff parties or Christmas parties, if there are, and perhaps the workers would be inviting their friends to the site.

A No, no, not at all.

Q I see, O.K. On page 10 then, will a condition of hiring for southern operational and maintenance personnel; would this be a condition of hiring, that they make a commitment to stay in that community for a certain number of years?

A I don't think we would ask our employees to make that kind of a commitment. We do, of course, ask them to stay with the company, but I don't think that we would not allow them to move to another community, so we have traditionally within the industry there is quite a bit of mobility and within a company there is quite a bit of mobility from place to place. This is how people get experience in order to get promoted.

Q Will this conflict at all with your home ownership plan?

A Would it affect the home ownership plan?

Q Yes.

A Yes, I expect it will.

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q So it's possible then
2 that your providing opportunities for workers to own
3 their own homes will not increase -- or lessen rather --
4 the transiency rate in the north? Is that so?

5 A No, I think it will
6 reduce this transiency rate. What I was getting at
7 with your earlier question was we don't intend to
8 restrict our employees, to say that "No, you can't work
9 for us unless you agree to live here for five years or
10 whatever". We don't intent to put that kind of restric-
11 tion on the employees.

12 Q Miss Jensen, when you
13 mentioned that this was a good recommendation because
14 it would cut down on the number of -- or cut down on
15 the transient rate, did you not take other factors into
16 consideration? I understand that some of the reasons
17 for people to only live short periods in the Northwest
18 Territories are such factors as isolation, severe
19 climatic conditions, poor transportation and communication,
20 lack of proper medical services and perhaps the general
21 inability of some people to adjust to the north.

22 WITNESS JENSEN: Well, I would
23 hope that Foothills, when it comes to selecting their
24 permanent employees that would move in from the south
25 during operations and maintenance would have a screening
26 process that would screen out a lot of people before they
27 even came here; that these problems would not occur to
28 the same extent.

29 The other thing too is that
30 Foothills will only be operating in the Northwest

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Territories. Therefore, the mobility will be within the
2 Northwest Territories and not between the province and
3 the Territories.

4 Q I see. Have you held
5 meetings with the officials in Edmonton and Vancouver
6 as to whether or not they are desirable of having the
7 hiring halls located in those cities?

8 A This was my -- I was told
9 this by the engineering staff in Calgary, yes, that there
10 have been some preliminary discussions to that effect.

11 Q Also in regard to handling
12 medical evacuations, the more severe cases as you know
13 are sent out to Edmonton from this part of the north.
14 Is the Camsell Hospital prepared or any of the other
15 hospitals in Edmonton prepared to accept medical evacuees
16 from the Northwest Territories?

17 WITNESS ELLWOOD: I would think
18 so. That's the current situation. They are taken
19 to hospitals in the south sometimes to Calgary as well.
20 I am thinking particularly of the Park Ambulance firm
21 in Calgary that flies injured employees out to both
22 Edmonton and Calgary.

23 Q Have you had meetings with
24 them and set up a program.

25 A No. No, we haven't Mrs.
26 MacQuarrie.

27 Q I think it's page 31 Miss
28 Jensen. Are there any statistics available regarding
29 the number of pipeline workers who have criminal records
30 as compared to the general work population?

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 WITNESS JENSEN: I am not
2 aware of any.

3 Q You didn't investigate
4 that area as part of your research then?

5 WITNESS ELLWOOD: I am just
6 trying to think. I don't know that you can do that.
7 I don't know of any way that one could find that out.
8 We didn't try to investigate it because I am quite
9 certain you just can't get that data.

10 Q So you really would not
11 know when the person is applying for the job on the
12 pipeline then, you don't -- his application form doesn't
13 -- there is no way that you could conclude that he was
14 an ex-con?

15 A No. No.

16 Q Does anyone compile these
17 statistics at all? Do the Canadian Correction system
18 do this?

19 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Mrs. Mac-
20 Quarrie, I think that gets into a matter of law because
21 it is my understanding of the laws that it is an
22 offence to ask on an application form if someone has a
23 criminal record. The witnesses said the information
24 isn't available.

25 MRS. MacQUARRIE: I see.

26 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
27 on what basis does Mr. Hollingworth say it's illegal to
28 make such a request?

29 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, that's
30 what the witnesses said and that's certainly my personal

1 understanding sir.

2 MR. SCOTT: Well in Alberta
3 that may be so. Is it being asserted that in the
4 Northwest Territories it is so? Or are the laws of
5 Alberta going to apply to the hiring of these people?

6 WITNESS JENSEN : I know
7 it does not appear in the government application forms.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Do you know
9 Mr. Bayly what the law is here?

10 MR. BAYLY: I don't know off-
11 hand sir. I can check that.

12 MRS. MacQUARRIE: I understand
13 that at present if a southerner is arrested for a crime
14 committed in the Northwest Territories even a day after
15 he has been here that he will in incarcerated here if
16 he is convicted and sentenced to less than a two
17 year sentence. Of course, the Territorial Government
18 has to absorb the cost generally for this inmate and
19 what do you think the impact of quite a number of
20 southern prisoners would be on the current native
21 population in the correctional institutes in the
22 Northwest Territories?

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1
2 A If there were a number.
3 of incarcerations that came from the other ethnic groups
4 it would certainly effect the ethnic distribution of the
5 Yellowknife Corrections Institute.

6 Q How about inter-personal
7 relationships and the fact that many of these southerners
8 are far more sophisticated than the --

9 A Well, I would certainly
10 hope that the new policy adopted by the Corrections in
11 the Northwest Territories which is community service,
12 will reduce the number of native inmates in the Yellowknife
13 Corrections Institute.

14 Q So, you don't see that
15 a number of newcomers would likely have any impact at
16 all on the correctional service then?

17 A Not significantly, no.

18 Q Okay. Have you developed
19 any regulations within the camp regarding gambling?

20 WITNESS ELLWOOD: You said
21 "gambling," Mrs. MacQuarrie?

22 Q Yes.

23 A No, I'm not aware that we
24 have any. I recall discussing this once with our construc-
25 tion manager and I think he gave it as his opinion that
26 as long as the person is in the room -- or in his room,
27 there was very little that we could do. That's counted
28 more or less as a persons residence and if he wanted to
29 have a card game he could.

30 Q I think some such thing

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1
2 occurred yesterday about who would provide the financial
3 counselling and on page 36 Miss Jensen says it should
4 be provided and Mr. Ellwood says earlier that it would
5 be provided or available. Whose responsibility is it
6 to provide this counselling service or have you already
7 decided that it would be taken over by your group?

8 A Well, we consider it our
9 responsibility to provide that. We intend to provide
10 that counselling service.

11 Q In quite a lot of the
12 communities in the north, there aren't any banking
13 services.

14 A That's right, yes.

15 Q How will you deal with
16 that?

17 A Mr. MacLeod spoke to this
18 in his evidence and said that this is one area of
19 deficiency and he suggested that some action be taken
20 here to establish a --

21 WITNESS MacLEOD: Some kind
22 of local banking institution.

23 Q I'm sorry, I didn't hear
24 you.

25 A I suggested that some
26 leadership be taken on the part of native organizations,
27 possibly in co-operation with the government to establish
28 some kind of local financial institutions in those
29 communities which don't have any banking institution
30 at this time.

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

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Q Have you had meetings with the government on this matter and the plans are underway or --

A I've discussed this with people at the Yellowknife Credit Union because they have received requests from various settlements who are interested in establishing a credit union, but it seems that at this time, that only the -- well, that most of the professional leadership would have to come from the Yellowknife Credit Union and they're already spreading the resources too thinly so they cannot provide this assistance.

Q I see, so your company would finance this kind of a programme?

A No, I don't think this falls within any area of responsibility of the company. I was suggesting that this initiative must be taken locally, by the people in those settlements where there aren't banking facilities. They should take the initiative at least to seek some kind of support or assistance.

Q But, your company will finance the provision of counselling of your employees then?

WITNESS ELLWOOD: No, I think you misunderstood me there, Mrs. MacQuarrie. We are providing counselling for our employees.

Q Yes.

A What Mr. MacLeod is talking about is advice in setting up a banking institute.

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1
2 Q Yes, right. I've got it
3 straight, I understand, thank you.

4 I understand that some of the
5 programmes that, for instance, the Hire North programme
6 is having quite a lot of difficulty dealing with its
7 financial counselling thing. A number of workers are
8 not inclined to send their money home to their family.
9 Consequently they have a fair amount of money in their
10 pocket, but their family in the settlement is on welfare.
11 Do you anticipate these kinds of things or have you
12 planned your programme well enough to avoid these?

13 A Well that was the intent
14 of the counselling service. That is why we have decided
15 to provide this service.

16 Q Yes.

17 A To see if we cannot correct
18 that situation.

19 Q But, would you think in
20 terms of imposing a condition of hire that the employees
21 send a certain percentage of his salary home?
22
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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1
2 A I don't think we have that control
3 over
4 the employee, once he gets paid it's his money, we can't
5 tell him what to do with it.

6 Q Well, the thing I'm trying
7 to understand here is that if other financial counselling
8 efforts have not been successful in some of the programs
9 that are run by the government, then do you have a --
10 have you taken all these things and studied them and
11 come to a really effective way of handling the matter
12 because they might like to know too.

13 A Well, we have had some
14 experience with counselling arrangement through our
15 involvement in Nortran, and that's basically what we
16 are basing our plans on. It's the Nortran experience
17 with employee counselling, and it seems to have worked
18 fairly well there.

19 MRS. MacQUARRIE: Thank you.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Before Mr.
21 Scott carries on, I think I should remind counsel that
22 briefs and letters are sent to the Inquiry every day
23 from people all around Canada. You all know that, but
24 they are all, as far as I am concerned, public documents.
25 I read them and then Miss Hutchinson places them on the
26 file and counsel and all of the participants are invited
27 to read them, if they wish. I'm reminded of that
28 because the three that arrived today are from Dr. William
29 Fuller, of the University of Alberta, from Mr. Graham
30 Rowley, retired secretary of the Inter-departmental
31 Committee on Northern Development, and from the Mr.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 James, the director of the Territorial Museum. I only
3 remind you of these things because they range from
4 letters from classes of school children, all of whom
5 have been urged by a teacher in some instances to write
6 and those are certainly very nice to receive. But letters
7 from these three gentlemen who are people with a good
8 deal of experience in the north, whose views are views
9 that are in many spheres well-known to the public.

10 Anyway, I only mention that
11 so that if you have an evening with nothing to do you
12 might want to glance through those letters.

13 Right.

14 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
15 I've now had the opportunity to read Panel 2 quickly,
16 and we propose to defer all questions that relate to
17 labor relations and employment of manpower in the
18 construction sense to that panel. But before doing so
19 I would just like to follow up one point that I think
20 Mrs. MacQuarrie was making with you, Mr. Burrell.

21
22 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. SCOTT (CONTINUED):

23 Q It's this. The solution or
24 one of the solutions proposed by the applicant for
25 the -- what we call the in-migration problem is to do
26 hiring in hiring halls in Edmonton. Has the applicant
27 given any thought to the extent to which this may impose
28 on it the requirements of Alberta law as opposed to the
29 requirements of any other law?

WITNESS BURRELL: Not at this

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 point in time. Of course you recognize that Edmonton
3 and Vancouver are already existing union hiring halls
4 and we selected those two locations for those reasons.

5 Q The point I make is that
6 if you're hiring hall was in Toronto -- and I don't
7 propose that for a moment -- but if it were, you would
8 not under the law of Ontario be able to implement a
9 preferential hiring system which of course is what you
10 are proposing, in the sense that you would prefer all
11 of the things being equal, to hire native northerners
12 for the project.

13 Now what I'm asking is, has
14 the applicant considered the problem that is involved
15 in having its hiring hall in another jurisdiction which
16 has some control over hiring halls and labor relations
17 generally? Have you looked at that?

18 A Well, I think if you will
19 refer to the Panel 2 evidence, we say that there are
20 a number of things which have to be resolved in develop-
21 ing a project agreement, and that certainly would be
22 one area you would have to touch upon. Certainly in
23 the south we're looking at hiring the southern workers
24 and it may be deemed in fact that northern workers
25 are hired in the north, and maybe we'll get around
26 that problem, if there is a problem, that way.

27 Q Are you talking off the
28 top of your head, or have you looked at this problem?

29 A I'm saying that that's
30 something that would have to be -- we haven't looked at

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 it at this point in time.

3 Q All right.

4 A It's something that would
5 have to be considered as this project agreement is
6 developed.

7 Q All right. I think I
8 understand where you are, then. Now, Miss Jensen, just
9 one thing as a result of your evidence, and perhaps
10 it's clear from the evidence itself but I'd just like
11 to have it confirmed. You've made -- I hope I'm correct
12 in describing it, a sort of a sociologist's assessment
13 of impact on housing, education, and a number of other
14 things as a result of this application.

15 WITNESS JENSEN: Yes, I have.

16 Q And your fundamental con-
17 clusion is that the impacts will be impacts that can
18 be borne more or less within the existing reservoir of
19 housing, education, so forth.

20 A Given that it's properly
21 controlled and planned, and that all agencies, industries,
22 governments, and native organizations get together and
23 work on this thing properly, yes.

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q Yes, but what you have
2 done in making that assessment, I take it, is that you
3 have considered only the Foothills pipeline?

4 A Yes, I have.

5 Q You have given no
6 consideration to the impact that may occur -- the
7 additional impact that may occur as a result of the
8 construction of the gas plants or their operation.

9 A Well, the education
10 thing was considered with the integrated gas system
11 which was the gathering system and the producers.

12 Q Could you speak into the
13 microphone? I am having some difficulty hearing you.

14 A It was with exception
15 of education it was done solely for Foothills Pipe
16 Lines' application.

17 Q Yes and without any
18 regard to what I call the corridor concept; the
19 development of other transmission facilities in the
20 same corridor.

21 A That's correct.

22 Q Yes. Now why do you
23 say education is different than that?

24 A Because I took John
25 MacLeod's population figures with development.

26 Q Well what does that mean?

27 A He has worked up the
28 population figures that take into account an integrated
29 hydrocarbon system.

30 Q Well what does an "integrated

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 hydrocarbon system" mean for that purpose?

2 A It includes the gathering
3 system and the producing facilities.

4 Q Yes. So that your
5 assessment of impact with respect to education is
6 based not only on the construction of a Foothills line
7 but also on the construction and operation of the gas
8 plants in the delta?

9 A Yes.

10 Q Yes. I take it just to
11 make it clear that you have given no consideration to
12 increasing development by way of oil and gas exploration
13 and the peoples that that may bring to the Northwest
14 Territories?

15 WITNESS MacLEOD: Well, I
16 would like to say something about that. All of my
17 population projections took into consideration the
18 development of the integrated hydrocarbon development.
19 That includes the pipeline -- that is, the natural gas
20 pipeline, the gas producing plants and the hydrocarbon
21 development, the field development.

22 Q Well, what happened to
23 hydrocarbon development?

24 A Exploration for oil and
25 gas out in the delta.

26 Q Well now, Miss Jensen, does
27 that lead you to change your answer?

28 WITNESS JENSEN: No, it doesn't.

29 Q So you have relied on those
30 figures only insofar as your assessment of educational

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 impact is concerned.

2 A Yes. Yes, because the
3 evidence that the producers gave in Inuvik did not give
4 any specifics. They were either "and/or".

5 Q Yes, I understand but I
6 take it that in assessing education what you have
7 attempted to do is assess the impact of it on education
8 based on the construction of a Foothills line, based
9 on the construction and operation of the gas gathering
10 systems that three producers now propose in the delta.

11 A Yes.

12 Q What was the third?

13 A Field development.

14 Q I'm sorry?

15 A Field development which
16 is gas and oil exploration on the delta.

17 Q All right. Well now,
18 what is the population increase and over what period
19 did you contemplate with respect to field development?

20 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, if
21 you read panel two as you say Mr. Scott, you will see
22 that this question of population increases is covered
23 there.

24 MR. SCOTT: Well, it will be
25 a help to have Ms. Jensen on that panel but it is very
26 difficult to cross-examine her without knowing the base
27 from which she has given her opinion. That's what I
28 am trying to analyze now. I don't think there is anything
29 wrong with that and if the witness can tell me, I would
30 be grateful. If she can't, --

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 A With the exception of
3 education it was solely the Foothills proposal.

4 Q Yes, but is it possible
5 for you now to tell me the population that you were
6 given that is created by hydrocarbon exploration upon
7 which you based your educational assessment?

8 WITNESS ELLWOOD: It is impossible
9 for us to give those without reading the panel two
10 evidence Mr. Scott. That is what is included in there.

11 Q Well let me put it this
12 way Ms. Jensen. How many people are coming into the
13 Territories that you have looked at in making your
14 educational assessment?

15 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well sir,
16 I just don't understand why these questions have to be
17 asked now. It is covered in panel two evidence and that
18 is when the panel was prepared to speak to these matters.

19 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,
20 could I just make my point? Ms. Jensen has given evidence
21 about the impact as she assesses it on educational
22 facilities. The critical question there is how many
23 people she was thinking of when she measured the impact.
24 That is the question I am asking her.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
26 allow Mr. Scott to proceed as far as he can. If Ms.
27 Jensen can't help him out any further, well then, that is
28 too bad. But she is obviously taking a stab at this
29 right now.

30 WITNESS JENSEN: All I have is a

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 projected number of students. I don't have any which.
2 derive from the total population figures which are in
3 panel two.
4

5 MR. SCOTT: I am sorry. I
6 can't hear you Ms. Jensen.

7 A All I have are the
8 expected number of students which were derived from the
9 total population which appears in panel two evidence.

10 Q Those are the student
11 figures that are in your canned evidence?

12 A That's right.

13 Q Yes. Your understanding
14 is that that includes students who will be the children of
15 workers on the line, workers in the gas plants and
16 workers in related hydrocarbon development ?

17 A That is correct.

18 Q Yes. Well now, does the
19 panel and maybe this has to do with panel two as well,
20 but it seems to me it is critical --

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me
22 Mr. Scott. Does somebody want to add something?

23 WITNESS MacLEOD: Yes. Those
24 population figures also reflect secondary employment.
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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 Q Has this panel or has
3 Foothills any information on the mobility, that is the
4 turnover of persons in the hydrocarbon industry in the
5 Northwest Territories? How long do they stay here on
6 the average?

7 WITNESS BURRELL: Well, we do
8 have information on the turnover with respect to the
9 Nortran program. I believe that was testified to
10 earlier by the Nortran group.

11 Q Yes. The Nortran students.

12 A Nortran trainees.

13 Q Trainees, yes.

14 WITNESS MACLEOD: I don't have
15 any hard data with me right here, but there is a rule of
16 thumb which says that you usually require three people
17 to fill one position in the course of a year. Three
18 bodies for one man-year of work.

19 Q Is that in the hydrocarbon
20 industry?

21 A Yes.

22 Q Yes.

23 A Well, that's in, I'd say,
24 the lesser skilled positions.

25 Q Do you know, do you have
26 any information on the turnover rate or the mobility rate,
27 whatever it's called, of persons in the Northwest Terri-
28 tories in government service?

29 WITNESS JENSEN: That's called
30 an attrition rate. I don't have those figures.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Q Well, does anybody have them?
3 A They are there, they can
4 be obtained, yes.

5 Q Let me put the proposition
6 to you this way, that it seems to me in dealing with
7 impacts on social services, one of the things one would
8 want to have in mind is how rapidly these turnovers occur,
9 how often do people come in and come out. Has the panel any
10 information on that with respect to government employees,
11 hydrocarbon industry employees, or non-hydrocarbon
12 private sector employees?

13 A There appears to be a con-
14 sensus of government employees, they stay on the average
15 for two years.

16 Q Yes. What about persons who
17 work in the private sector and not in the hydrocarbon
18 industry?

19 WITNESS MACLEOD: With lesser
20 skilled positions in the private sector, they say it
21 takes about three people in the course of a year to fill
22 one position. I'm referring to particularly general
23 contractors and labor crews which are a major portion
24 of the private sector.

25 Q Well, what about the
26 hydrocarbon industry then?

27 A For the lesser skilled
28 positions, it's the same rule of thumb which applies,
29 I think.

THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. MacLeod,

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 that rule of thumb of three people to fill one position,
3 over 12 months in the hydrocarbon industry, is that a
4 matter that takes rotation into account, or is it equiva-
5 lent to talking about three terminations in the course
6 of the year? The season is about, say, six months in
7 the winter. Well, does that mean that somebody works
8 for two months, quits, and goes to Ontario or to Mexico
9 and then someone else comes and quits, and someone else
10 comes and quits; or are you rotating them and that's
11 why you need three?

12 A As a result of an exper-
13 ience of having three terminations in the course of a
14 year, some employers have hired three people for each
15 position to protect themselves against the possibility
16 of having unfilled positions. So it's sort of developed
17 from experience and they've responded. So, I know labor
18 crews operating in the delta which go out and hire
19 three people and they ask those three people to get
20 together among themselves to make sure that one of
21 those three shows up to fill the position, so the posi-
22 tion is always filled. So based on the experience
23 people have terminated their employment.

24 Q Well, Mr. Hobart said that
25 the average length of service -- do you remember? Well
26 you weren't here, but do you remember his evidence, Mr.
27 Ellwood, he said the average length of service of rough-
28 necks on drilling rigs was -- maybe I've got it here --
29 no, I don't, I wondered if that fitted in, I think he
30 said 39 days.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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WITNESS ELLWOOD: I recall
the discussion but I can't recall the figure that he
gave.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, all
right. I won't --

WITNESS JENSEN: Those figures
are obtainable from the Inuit employment study that Professor
Hobart did.

Q Yes, and he mentioned them.
I'm just trying to bring them to mind.

A I can't remember exactly
what they were.

THE COMMISSIONER:
I was wondering how they
fit in with these three people for one job thing. Maybe
the two, the Hobart thing and your rule of thumb mesh.
Anyway, let's not worry about it.

MR. SCOTT: I take it that those
who work in the hydrocarbon industry and quit are going
to be taken out to Edmonton or some other point if
they're not northerners.

A That's the general practice
in the delta, yes. Those people do not interact with
the delta communities.

Q I'm talking about Foothills.
That's going to be an inflexible practice, is it not,
that someone who quits, who is not a northerner, is
bodily removed from the Territories.

WITNESS ELLWOOD: Yes, his hiring
includes a commitment to return to the point of hire.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Q Well now, Miss Jensen, in
3 measuring your -- the impact of this project on resources
4 of the Territories, what is the significance to you of
5 this turnover rate in the non-hydrocarbon sector?

6 WITNESS JENSEN: As it's presently
7 done, most of that in plant is taken up by northern
8 residence and dependents of government personnel working
9 in the north.
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Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Q What I'm getting at is if
2 it is true, assume it is true for the moment, that in
3 non-hydrocarbon, that is in general industry in the
4 Territory there is a substantial turn-over rate. Have
5 you considered that in measuring the impact that will
6 exist for these facilities/^{that}you described?

7 A I haven't quantified it,
8 but I certainly expect it to increase. We've already
9 had some indications of that.

10 Q Well, to what extent? It
11 seems to me that to measure the impact on hospitals,
12 on education, on the whole range of services you've
13 discussed, you have to quantify that don't you? You
14 have to know what the turn-over is going to be or make
15 an assumption about it.

16 A The assumption is that
17 most of these workers will be on rotation.

18 Q Now, I'm not talking about
19 workers on the pipeline. Leave them out of it. We're
20 concerned, not about Foothills' hospitals but about
21 community hospitals and you told us, as I understand it
22 that this project is not going to unduly -- all other
23 things being equal, is not going to unduly strain the
24 hospital capacity of the Northwest Territories.

25 A That's correct.

26 Q Now, what I'm suggesting
27 to you is in making that assessment, that very positive
28 assessment, have you considered the turn-over rate in
29 the non-hydrocarbon sector?

30 MR. HOLLINGWORTH : Well, Mr. Scott,

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 do you mean, has she considered the present turn-over
3 rate or has she considered a projected turn-over rate?

4 MR. SCOTT: Any turn-over rate.

5 WITNESS MacLEOD: In the private
6 non-pipeline sector, to the extent that these positions
7 are being held by people originating from the south.
8 Usually their employment is related to their accommodation.
9 As soon as they arrive in the north they receive their
10 employment and at the same time they have assurance of
11 accommodation. To the extent that they quickly vacate
12 their employment they're also forced out of / their accommodation
13 and thereby forced back towards the south. They cannot
14 stay around and remain as a burden on the local infra-
15 structure.

16 Q Well then, I take it what
17 you're saying is that it has no impact?

18 A It's negligible
19 because it's very difficult for someone who is from the
20 outside, who goes north and is hired and quickly abandons
21 his employment to stay around there and do nothing.

22 Q All right.

23 A He's lost his home.

24 Q Well then, let me ask
25 Ms. Jensen. Do you agree that this will have no impact
26 or no measurable impact?

27 WITNESS JENSEN: I agree, that's
28 been the experience to date and I don't see any reason
29 why it should change if the project is properly controlled.

30 Q All right. Well then, I
31 take it what you're saying is that you don't have to

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 consider that as a significant factor in making your
2 assessment about the impact of the project on these
3 community facilities?

4 A That's right.

5 Q All right. Well now, Mr.
6 Ellwood, on page five of the evidence, the panel in
7 discussing the input of the advisors to the project point
8 out that one of the key areas of policy which we have
9 been involved with are, one, timing of the project
10 vis-a-vis the land claims question. Now, I'd like to
11 ask you particularly, you having followed the community
12 hearings in detail, what your advise was to Foothills,
13 with respect to timing of the project vis-a-vis the
14 land claims question?

15 WITNESS ELLWOOD: My advise in
16 the discussions that I have had with Mr. Burrell and others
17 in the company has been that we must work here to find
18 some extra time to allow the land claims to be settled.

19 Q Well, I'm not really
20 sure what that means. Everybody's working here to
21 get at the timing.

22 A What I'm saying is we
23 had to do something with our project to allow us more
24 flexibility in time. We had to find some way to give
25 us flexibility in the timing, in the start of construc-
26 tion.

27 Q All right, and what have
28 you done about that?

29 A We in the company --

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 or not myself now, have undertaken --

3 WITNESS BURRELL: Perhaps I
4 could add --

5 WITNESS ELLWOOD: What do you
6 call that study that you've done with the gas out of
7 Alberta?

8 WITNESS BURRELL: Yes, I was
9 just going to mention that we have undertaken a very
10 major study in our Calgary office which deals with the
11 supply requirements in Canada for natural gas to see if
12 in fact, the 'traditional sources of supply can support
13 the requirements that Canada has over a longer period of
14 time than what has previously been predicted and our
15 studies are well underway and the indications to us are
16 that supply, if it's produced properly, can meet the
17 requirements of Canadian natural gas well into the '80's
18 and it's not only the case of the supply being handled
19 properly, it's also a case that requirements have dropped
20 off significantly from what have been predicted a few
21 years ago. Our study indicates certainly that the gas
22 supply is there to meet the requirements, as I say, into
23 the '80's and I think that is also -- the fact that
24 the requirements are falling off are also being supported
25 by work that's being done by the government.

26 Q Well, what I'm really asking
27 is a more direct question than that. When does Foothills
28 want to begin to build this pipeline, bearing in mind
29 their eagerness to see land claims settlements?

30 A Well, we have said that the

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 pipeline -- our application to the National Energy
3 Board will reflect a November 1, 1982, start of first
4 gas delivery and that ties in with what the producers,
5 as I understand it, have been saying, is the earliest
6 time at which they can make other plants available.

7 Q When do you want to begin
8 construction?

9 A The plan, of course, is
10 that we would have to start some construction, I believe
11 it's in -- the initial start would be somewhere in 1978,
12 but the major construction would cover the two seasons,
13 1981, '82, in that range.

14 Q Well, I take it that that
15 is the timing that you're presently able to allow for
16 the settlement of land claims?

17 A We believe that provides
18 sufficient time to make great strides towards settling
19 these land claims.

20 Q A 1978 start.
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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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A Yes, that's the initial start. Like I say, the major construction would take place in '80-81, '81-82, that's when the major construction takes place as far as laying pipe is concerned.

Q All right. Now, Mr. Ellwood, do you think that that is satisfactory in terms of timing?

WITNESS ELLWOOD: I would hope that an additional two years will prove to be adequate to get the land claims question well under control to make some progress towards settling that. Whether or not it's satisfactory, I really can't say. I'm not party to negotiations.

Q No, but let me ask you this. When you say, "an additional two years" are you accepting what Mr. Burrell says, or are you saying you want two years on top of that?

A Well, I'm saying that's the two years that we now have.

THE COMMISSIONER: You're saying this is the summer of '76 and you have to begin the summer of '78, and pipe-laying has to begin in '79-80.

A Pipe-laying has to begin in the winter of 1980-81.

Q Right, to be completed in '81-82.

A Right.

Q And then in the fall of '82 you begin your deliveries.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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A Yes.

Q And in '82-83 you build

the laterals.

A To Pine Point, Yellowknife.

THE COMMISSIONER: That's right.

MR. SCOTT: Q Well, Mr. Ellwood,

bearing in mind what you've heard in the community
hearings, do you think that that's an adequate time frame?

A Yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well you got your
answer Mr. Scott.

WITNESS BURRELL: I might say that

Mr. Buchanan has suggested that November-1 is the date which
he would like the NWT native organizations to
present their land claims to the government, so that
timetable has been established, as you know.

MR. SCOTT: I understand that.

I'm simply at this stage desirous of probing this concern
that Foothills has expressed not only here but elsewhere
to allow the land claims to be settled, and I take it
that what that means at the moment is that you're prepared
to allow two years for that process before you begin.

A We think that's a reasonable
time.

Q Yes, I'm not quarrelling
about it, but one gets the sense, no doubt erroneously,
from the press that you're prepared to allow six years
or eight years or something like that, and I take it
when we're right down at it, what it means is that you're
prepared to allow two years.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 A We think, as I said before,
3 that that's a reasonable length of time. Mr. Ellwood
4 says we're not party to these negotiations but I think
5 on the other hand, I think as Mr. Blair has said too,
6 that you have to also consider the need for natural
7 gas supply in Southern Canada, and it seems like a good
8 balance, as we see it.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Burrell,
10 to sum up Foothills' position, you are anxious so far
11 as it is possible with the exigencies of delivering gas
12 to Southern Canada to ensure that there is time to
13 settle native land claims and on that footing you are
14 saying that it isn't necessary to begin construction
15 until the summer of '78, two years from now.

16 A Yes.

17 Q That's what it all boils
18 down to. Right?

19 A Yes.

20 MR. SCOTT: Q Mr. Ellwood, were
21 you present when Dr. Hobart gave evidence in the last
22 two panels for Arctic Gas?

23 WITNESS ELLWOOD: No, I was
24 here during Dr Hobart's first appearance, but not during
25 his second.

26 Q So have you had an oppor-
27 tunity to look at his evidence in the second panel?

28 A No, I haven't.

29 Q No. Well, I summarize them
only at risk, but dealing with the desirability of

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

proceeding with the pipeline, in the face of the position that some of the native people in the communities have said, he said that he thought there were four conditions which were essential before pipeline construction should proceed, and I'd just like to summarize them for you and ask if you agree.

He said first of all that in his opinion pipeline construction should not proceed unless the native people were assured long-term employment opportunities beyond the actual construction of the pipeline. Do you agree with that as a condition of proceeding?

A Yes.

Q All right. The second thing he said, as a condition of proceeding with the project, that it should be a matter of assurance that the native people have participation in entrepreneurial opportunity and not merely token participation, that that should be a condition of the project proceeding.

A That they should have an opportunity to do that? Yes, I would agree with that. I'm not sure the way you worded that. It almost sounded like you were asking my assurance that they must participate in entrepreneurial opportunities. But I would say no, they must have an opportunity if that's what they wish.

Q And stopping right there with respect to those two conditions, you would agree with me that those two conditions depend on a set of

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 circumstances that Foothills cannot control.

3 A Yes, I think that's correct.
4 We don't have full control over that, although we do
5 have some input certainly with respect to employment.

6 Q But only insofar as you
7 have operating and maintenance employees.

8 A Yes, right. I mean we
9 don't have control over total employment in the
10 Northwest Territories, only over our own employees.

11
12 Q But these first two condi-
13 tions which Dr. Hobart listed envisage a set of circum-
14 stances existing in the Northwest Territories that really
15 cannot be controlled by any applicant for a pipeline
16 permit.

17 A I may have misunderstood
18 you, Mr. Scott. I was assuming that these conditions
19 would apply to our project, not generally to conditions
20 in the Northwest Territories.

21 Q Well, I think Dr. Hobart's
22 first point was that while a substantial number of
23 native people may get construction employment, the
24 project should not be proceeded with unless it was --
25 unless that employment could be translated into long-
26 term employment opportunities for them. In other words,
27 to have them work two winters and then be out of work
28 would not be satisfactory. There would have to be
29 long-term opportunities created for them.
30

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A Yes, I would agree that
2 there should be long-term opportunities created. But I
3 would not put that as a condition of proceeding with
4 the pipeline that there must be long-term employment
5 conditions in some other industry or some other project.
6 I don't know if I am misunderstanding you here. As
7 a condition of proceeding with this project, I would
8 agree that there should be long-term employment
9 opportunities on this project.

10 Q I don't want to do him
11 any injustice but I think the point Dr. Hobart made was
12 that if you take let's say 1,000 native people and
13 train them and they work on the construction of the
14 project, it would be counter-productive and have had
15 results if at the end of three years there was nothing
16 for them to do.

17 A Yes.

18 Q Yes and that therefore
19 a condition of the project should be that there were
20 reasonable long-term opportunities not only in the
21 project itself but for these people to utilize the skills
22 they have acquired. Is that a reasonable condition?

23 A That's a reasonable
24 condition but I am just -- I don't want to get trapped
25 here to your 1,000 figure here already.

26 Q No. No, I am not --

27 A Don't tie me to 1,000 and
28 I will agree with your statement.

29 Q Then it follows that these
30 two conditions are conditions that to a certain extent

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 depend on circumstances that are beyond the applicant's
2 control.

3 A Yes, partly beyond our
4 control.

5 Q You can't control whether
6 there are going to be long-term employment opportunities
7 after your pipeline is built.

8 A We can control 250 of those,
9 yes.

10 Q I know but beyond that
11 you have not ability to control.

12 A That's right.

13 Q Yes. Now, the third
14 condition that Dr. Hobart stipulated was that measures
15 be taken to ensure that native people do not feel ripped
16 off -- that's his expression, and that this could be
17 done in at least one way. That is, by a royalty
18 arrangement for extracted natural resources. What do
19 you say about that as a condition of proceeding with
20 the project?

21 A Well, our position is that
22 those matters are wrapped up in the land claims question
23 and we would prefer that the land claims question is
24 settled before we begin.

25 Q No, but you see I hope I
26 am talking to you and Ms. Jensen not as pipeline
27 executives who are interested in building pipelines.
28 I hope I am talking to you as sociologists or persons
29 who are concerned with impacts on native people. What
30 I am asking you is as people concerned about impacts on

Burrell, Jensen
Fillwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 native people, do you agree with Dr. Hobart that that is
2 a reasonable pre-condition before a pipeline construction
3 should proceed? I mean, no pipeline person is going
4 to answer that "yes". He wants the pipeline to proceed
5 without any conditions, ideally. I am asking you as
6 sociologists interested in measuring impacts on people.
7 Is that a reasonable --

8 THE COMMISSIONER: You can ask Mr.
9 Fillwood
10 as an archeologist or an engineer but not as a sociologist.

11 MR. SCOTT: Well, maybe he is
12 the wrong person. I rather get the impression that he
13 has put forward to assist us in measuring impacts and
14 I want your views as to whether that is a pre-condition
15 that is appropriate.

16 A I am very reluctant to
17 agree with that as a pre-condition to starting a project
18 such as this. My reasons for that are because I am
19 also concerned about the Canadian energy supply-demand
20 situation. These are difficult things to balance and
21 judge and I don't feel qualified to say which one is --
22 if it came to the crunch, I am not qualified to judge
23 which one is more important.

24 Q What do you say, Ms.
25 Jensen?

26 WITNESS JENSEN: I disagree.
27 I think they should.

28 Q I am sorry?

29 A I think that the land
30 claims have to be settled. Royalty arrangements have
to be made and the structure has to be set up for the

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 native people to get the benefits from this pipeline
2 or this project or there is no use in even going
3 ahead with it.

4 Q Well now, the fourth
5 condition that Dr. Hobart referred to and he wasn't
6 talking, I don't think, about any veto, but he suggested
7 that as a pre-condition to the project and in connection
8 with assuring that the native people would not feel they
9 were being ripped off by the project, there had to be
10 given to them a measure of control over their own
11 affairs and that runs the gamut from education
12 on down. What do you say about that as a pre-condition?
13

14 A I would agree. I think
15 that that's already beginning to happen.

16 Q So, can I summarize it
17 this way that if Ms. Jensen agrees with Dr. Hobart that
18 those four conditions, generally expressed, should be
19 pre-conditions for this project proceeding.

20 A I would agree with that.

21 Q Yes. Mr. Ellwood, do I
22 take it that you agree with the first two?

23 WITNESS ELLWOOD: Yes, I agree
24 with the first two.

25 Q You don't feel qualified
26 to make a judgement on the last two?

27 A I agree that the last two
28 are desirable. That that should be done and that's the
29 way it should work out. But I am reluctant to say that
30 a project such as this cannot under any circumstances

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 proceed unless those last two conditions are met.

2 Q Well now Mr. Burrell, what
3 do you say about the modest division of opinion that has
4 been opened up between your co-panelists?

5 WITNESS BURRELL: Well, first
6 of all --

7 Q Where do you fall in this?

8 A First of all, our project
9 is being designed so it doesn't rip off anybody.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Putting all
11 of that -- It isn't necessary to, so to speak, swear
12 by the project before you answer every question. You
13 know we -- I think all accept the good intentions and
14 the good faith of both Arctic Gas and Foothills but
15 addressing yourself to the question, if you don't feel
16 that you are in a position to do so, that is fine. But
17 just grappling with it as best we can.

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Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 A I thought I should make
3 that point anyway.

MR. SCOTT:

4 You're not the first pipe-
5 line executive who has.

6 A Well, why don't we take
7 them one at a time because I've lost track of what the
8 four are now. So, maybe we could take them one at a
9 time here.

10 Q Yes. The first is the
11 existence of long-term employment opportunities for
12 persons who have been introduced to the wage economy,
13 or learned skills in connection with the wage economy
14 during construction.

15 A Yes, I think that's important
16 and I think you have to look at more than just Foothills.
17 You have to look at the integrated project and I think
18 if you look at the number of jobs that are available
19 in the gas plant exploration you'll see that that
20 possibility exists, that these jobs will be available and
21 I agree that that should be the case.

22 Q That should be a pre-
23 condition?

24 A Well, that every effort
25 should be made. The opportunities should be provided.
26 Whether, in fact, the people choose to take those jobs
27 is their own decision, but the opportunity should be
28 made available to the greatest extent possible.

29 Q And if they aren't available
30 you wouldn't want to go ahead with the project.

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 A To the greatest extent
3 possible, it should be made available, right.

4 Q Well, let's have it. If
5 they aren't available, I take it you wouldn't go ahead
6 with the project.

7 A Well, I think it's a matter
8 of effort and the point is, is that these jobs, you know,
9 we can't create jobs, but to the degree of which jobs
10 are available, then every effort should be made to make
11 these jobs available to the northerners and that's
12 certainly our position.

13 Now, whether they elect to
14 take them, of course, is their choice, not ours, really.

15 Q All right. The second
16 pre-condition is that there should be some assurance that
17 native northerners have an opportunity for active partici-
18 pation in entrepreneurial works and not merely token
19 participation.

20 A I agree with that.

21 Q That would be a pre-condition
22 as well?

23 A The opportunity to be
24 provided, yes.

25 Q Yes, and to put it the other
26 way around, if those opportunities aren't available, you
27 wouldn't be nearly as happy about proceeding with this
28 project.

29 A Well, our project will
30 be working towards that end, yes.

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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Q All right. And the third condition was that there should be established, to avoid the sense of being ripped of, in advance, a royalty arrangement for extracted natural resources.

A Every effort should be made so that there isn't any rip off of anyone, actually. As far as the royalty arrangement, as far as Foothills are concerned, we're not parties of that and if the government, in their wisdom, decide that that's the way they're going to do it, then fine.

Q Yes, and the fourth proposal is that some measure of control should be given to native people over their own destiny in social and cultural matters like education and so forth.

A Yes. People should have control over their destiny in those areas in which they can have that opportunity and involvement with council and education boards and so on, I think are prime examples in the south and I see no reason why that couldn't work up here too.

Q And you see, Mr. Burrell, that three or four of these conditions, at least, basically have nothing to do, or have little to do with your application itself, they have to do with creating a set of circumstances beyond your application.

A We have some involvement in some of them of course. The opportunities we have within the sphere of our operation we can work to that end and will be working to the end that you're suggesting.

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 In the overall, of course, we're just one part of the
2 overall development.

3 Q Exactly. In creating this
4 social situation, you play a part, but a relatively small
5 part.

6 A We play a part, yes.

7 Q And do I understand that
8 generally speaking you agree that until that social
9 situation is created, it would not be desirable to pro-
10 ceed with the pipeline?

11 A I'm not so sure it has
12 to be totally developed, but I think that that aspect
13 of it should be on-going and these things take time
14 to develop and I think in time they will be developed.
15 Whether it's a condition in a permit, if that's what
16 you're saying, a condition in the permit, I don't
17 necessarily think that has to be a condition of the
18 permit.

19 WITNESS ELLWOOD: May I add
20 something here, Mr. Scott?

21 Q By all means.

22 A What troubles me about
23 this is that you're phrasing this that that situation must
24 be in existence before the project commences.
25 This project and any other project in my view, ought
26 to create that situation. I'm a little concerned about --

27 THE COMMISSIONER: You can't
28 have the employment opportunities without the project.

29 A Without some project, this
30 one or another one or two or three or whatever, but the

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 things come together there, one creates the other. So,
3 you can't set jobs up until you get the project, so putting
4 that as a condition of approval of the project, I don't
5 think is the right way to approach it.

6 MR. SCOTT: Well, let me deal
7 with some more particular matters. On page six, Mr.
8 Ellwood, you deal with construction camps and it isn't
9 clear but do I understand it that none of the employees
10 in the construction camps will be able to bring their
11 spouses.

12 A That's correct.

13 Q The employees, for purposes
14 of construction, will be single persons.

15 A Yes.

16 Q What arrangements are
17 being made, if any, to control whether an employee
18 brings his family up to the Northwest Territories?

19 A We don't intend to control
20 that.

21 Q Well, what I'm concerned
22 about, for example is, supposing you have a foreman on
23 the project who knows he's going to be on it for three
24 or four years, building the lines in the laterals, he
25 gets hired at Edmonton, but he tells his family to
26 come up to Yellowknife.

27 A Then we'll fly him to
28 Edmonton and if he wants to see his family he can drive
29 to Yellowknife.

30 Q That man is, nonetheless

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 going to be flown to Edmonton?

3 A That's correct.

4 Q Yes. No exceptions?

5 A Our intention is to fly
6 all the employees as they come in for work on the project,
7 if they are hired in the south, they'll be taken back
8 to the south. I'm not going to give you a blanket
9 guarantee that that will work 100 percent of the time.
10 Some may, in fact, get off the plane in Fort Simpson
11 and we'll not be able to find them.

12 Q No, but when they're
13 rotated out, they're going to be rotated out to Edmonton?

14 A Yes.

15 Q So that if someone brings
16 his family to Yellowknife, Foothills is going to assure,
17 in practical terms, that he sees less of his family
18 than if he left them in Edmonton.

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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 A We intend to make that .
3 clear to him that he's going back to Edmonton when
4 we hire him.

5 Q Page 7 you deal with
6 law enforcement, and let me see if I understand the
7 thrust of this, that Foothills is going to have its
8 own -- what shall I call it -- police force to police
9 pipeline regulations. Is that correct?

10 A I wouldn't use the term
11 "police force" there. We intend to have an inspection
12 staff that will ensure enforcement of the regulations
13 that govern the project. We also intend to have a
14 security staff that will be on duty, so to speak, at
15 the gate of the camp or whatever; they will be watching,
16 be involved in the inventory control system.

17 Q But I take it that apart
18 from that, any offences or investigations about offences
19 against the general law of Canada will be conducted
20 by the R.C.M.P.

21 A Yes.

22 Q So that if I am a construc-
23 tion worker and I allege that a fellow worker has stolen
24 something from me, I phone the R.C.M.P. and they come
25 in and do whatever they do

26 A Yes.

27 Q Now, this is a fundamental
28 divergence in policy from the practice that has been
29 adopted in Alaska, is it not?

30 A No. It is my understanding

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 that that also is Alyeska's policy, but that in fact
3 there is considerable question about how effective
4 that's been put into practice.

5 Q But I take it that you
6 intend to make it as effective as you can, regardless
7 of what's happened at Alyeska.

8 A Yes.

9 Q Now, have you discussed
10 this proposal with the Royal Canadian Mounted Police?

11 A Yes.

12 Q With whom in the Royal
13 Canadian Mounted Police did you discuss this?

14 A I can't remember his
15 title now. Mr. Butler, who is head of --

16 Q Superintendent Butler?

17 A Yes.

18 Q He's the head, as you
19 understand it, of the Royal Canadian Mounted Police in
20 the Northwest Territories.

21 A Yes.

22 Q Was that acceptable to
23 him?

24 A Yes, it was.

25 Q Was there any discussion
26 about the extent to which the size of the Police Force
27 would have to be increased to meet that new duty?

28 A There was some discussion
29 about that. There were no numbers tossed around, as
30 I recall. On the two occasions that I've met with

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Inspector Butler we generally discussed our plans for
3 the project so that he would then be able to make some
4 estimates of his manpower requirements and do that.
5 That was the intent. He wasn't trying to tell me how
6 many policemen he needed. He was just trying to find
7 out for himself what was required in this so that he
8 could make that estimate.

9 Q Well, has any consideration
10 been given to defraying the cost of this policing?

11 A We have indicated to the
12 R.C.M.P. here that we're prepared to install a communi-
13 cations facility that they need, prepared to provide
14 the facilities in the camps for accommodation and office
15 space that they may require, and we intend to hold
16 further discussions with them to iron these things out
17 as to exactly what they would require.

18 Q Well, has Foothills taken
19 any decision as to whether it's prepared to defray the
20 total cost of this policing that will be necessitated
21 by construction alone? I'm thinking of personnel
22 and all the rest of it.

23 A No, we haven't.

24 Q And has Foothills, from
25 its experience, any judgment as to how many policemen
26 will be required on a project that employs 6,000 people?

27 A Well, I have some experience
28 on pipeline construction and that experience would say
29 none. I think it's misleading to say a project that
30 employs 6,000 people, we have no camp of 6,000 people.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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Q No, but Mr. Blair has told us that Foothills has great experience in building pipelines in this country, and I want to know if you've been able on the basis of that experience to make any assessment about the demands that are attached to a Police Force that perform the policing functions in those camps, often out of the way, and so forth?

A My experience has been that all the camps that I've ever been in in pipeline or compressor station construction, there was never an R.C.M.P. man there, to my knowledge, at least not while I was there.

Q In those cases did you provide office space for them?

A No, we weren't requested to.

Q I take it that you anticipate that the R.C.M.P. will be present in these camps from time to time.

A From time to time, yes.

MR. SCOTT: I think, Mr. Commissioner, that coffee is ready. I'll be a few more moments, but --

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, O.K.

(PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Well ladies and gentlemen, maybe we should come to order again.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Mr. Commissioner, before my friend proceeds again, Miss Jensen has prepared a new table entitled "Northwest Territories Infant Mortality Rate per 1,000 Live Births, All Ethnic Groups", broken down by ethnic groups.

I have placed a copy on your desk and given a copy to all participants and asked that this made an exhibit.

THE COMMISSIONER: Fine. Thank you.

(TABLE IV, "NORTHWEST TERRITORIES INFANT MORTALITY RATE PER 1,000 LIVE BIRTHS" MARKED EXHIBIT 673)

MR. SCOTT: On that subject Miss Jensen, I understand from the Dear report that 98% of births in the Northwest Territory take place in hospital. Would that be consistent with your general view?

WITNESS JENSEN: That's consistent with this report, yes.

Q Yes and therefore when we are talking about infant mortality we are really talking about infant diseases that derive from either inadequate child care, inadequate housing, inadequate food or inadequate water supply.

A And accidents.

Q And accidents. On that subject, just while I have it, the Dear report indicates that injuries, accidents and violence are the major

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 causes of death in the Northwest Territory.

2 A That is correct.

3 Q Would you agree with that?

4 A Yes, I would.

5 Q The rate of death from
6 those causes is one of the highest in Canada.

7 A That's correct.

8 Q Yes. The Dear report also
9 indicates that the --

10 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, excuse
11 me Mr. Commissioner, if Ms. Jensen is supposed to have
12 the opportunity to read this report in order to answer
13 questions from Mrs. MacQuarrie --

14 MR. SCOTT: All right.

15 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: -- I don't
16 see why Mr. Scott has the right to proceed now. Can't
17 he wait until the same time to ask these questions on
18 the Dear report?

19 MR. SCOTT: Of course I can
20 wait but I wouldn't have thought that if she was able
21 to answer them I presume from her own knowledge, I
22 would not have thought there was any harm in it.

23 I am also told, I can't tell
24 you by whom, that the venereal disease rate is one of
25 the highest in Canada in the Northwest Territories.

26 A There has been a reported
27 case of a child under five having venereal disease in
28 the Inuvik zone.

29 Q No, but what I am trying
30 to get from you is that the Northwest Territories exhibits

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 certain pronounced health problems that don't exist
2 at the same level in other parts of Canada.

3 A That may be correct. But
4 it could also be in the way that the statistics are
5 collected and the active control of VD contacts that
6 is conducted by the Public Health Department in the
7 Northwest Territories.

8 Q Yes but what I am suggest-
9 ing to you is that in the Northwest Territories, the
10 rate of death from injury, accident or violence is
11 markedly higher than it is in other parts of Canada.

12 A You are not likely to die
13 of old age here. That's right.

14 Q I beg your pardon?

15 A You are not likely to die
16 of old age in the Territories.

17 Q All right. So that that
18 is a particular health problem that exists in the
19 Northwest Territories.

20 A I am not so sure it is
21 a particular health problem as it is a particular problem
22 of the social environment.

23 Q All right. It is also
24 recognized is it not, that the suicide rate in the
25 Northwest Territories is one of the highest in Canada?

26 A It wasn't until 1965.

27 Q It is now.

28 A It is now.

29 Q Yes.

30 THE COMMISSIONER: Is there any --

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 excuse me Mr. Scott. Is there any reason attributed to
3 the increase in the suicide rate post '65?

4 A I haven't been able to
5 find anything. I tried to do a paper on suicide in the
6 Northwest Territories a couple of years ago and the
7 dearth of data was just incredible. But I know from
8 1959 to 1965, there were no native suicides in the
9 Northwest Territories.

10 Q You are satisfied that that
11 is a matter of fact as opposed to a function of the
12 reporting of statistics.

13 A Yes, that is a matter of
14 fact.

15 MR. SCOTT: It is also, and
16 I am not being facetious, but it is also true that at
17 least according to the statistics, the venereal disease
18 problem in the Northwest Territories appears to be
19 greater than it is in any part of Canada.

20 A That is correct.

21 Q Yes. One can go on even
22 though tuberculosis has been conquered, still the
23 tuberculosis rate in the Northwest Territories is
24 substantially in advance of any other place in Canada?

25 A Yes, I am sure the
26 Northwest Territories is the only part of this country
27 where children are vaccinated for T.B. while they are
28 still in hospital.

29 Q Do you recognize also that
30 there is increasingly a problem in the Northwest

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 Territories concerned with dental health?

2
3 A Yes, I am aware.

4 Q Yes and that that I think
5 is a problem that is greater than occurs in any other
6 part of Canada.

7 A And it is directly related
8 to diet.

9 Q Yes. The consumption of
10 alcohol is greater per capita in the Northwest Territories
11 than in any other part of Canada with one exception.

12 A The Yukon, except the
13 Yukon rates are decreasing and our are increasing.

14 Q All right, so that if we
15 leave the Yukon out of it, Mr. Veale being absent for
16 the moment, the rate of alcohol consumption per capita
17 in the Northwest Territories is the greatest in the
18 country.

19 A Yes.

20 Q There is no doubt that that
21 produces medical and social problems.

22 A That is correct.

23 Q So you would agree with
24 me would you not that as it presently exists, the
25 Northwest Territories presents social or medical social
26 problems that make clear that -- or presents problems
27 that in their volume per capita are unique in this
28 country.

29 A That is right.

30 Q Yes and I take it that

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 whether it be cause or effect one of the difficulties
2 in dealing with those problems is the difficulty of
3 geography.

4 A Partially.

5 Q The fact that communities
6 may have a nursing station but it may have no more than
7 that in the way of facilities.

8 A That is part of it. But
9 I think it has to do with the level and the commitment
10 that people come north with.

11 Q I don't understand.

12 A Well, the level of their
13 training plus their commitment to work and live in the
14 north and make the north something else than what it is
15 now.

16 Q Yes. Isn't the complicating
17 factor in the provision of medical services in the
18 Northwest Territory the extraordinary turnover rate among
19 nurses and doctors?

20 A Very definitely.

21 Q Yes.

22 A How can you have good
23 medical care when you have no continuity between the
24 patient and the doctor?
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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, McLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 Q And I take it that these
3 three features, the existence of particular and relative-
4 ly unique disease problems or health problems, the
5 problems associated with geography and the problems
6 associated with obtaining adequate medical personnel
7 over the long-term --

8 A M-hm.

9 Q -- make the provision of
10 medical and health services very difficult in the
11 Territories.

12 A Yes.

13 Q Well now what I'm concerned
14 about is, are you assuring us that the implementation
15 of this project with or without its spinoffs isn't
16 going to impose any drain on the existing facilities?
17 Is that what you're telling us, or do I have it wrong?

18 A No, that's what I said.

19 Q How can that be?

20 A I don't think that the
21 levels will change. I don't think they're going to get
22 any better.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: You think in
24 absolute numbers these things may go up?

25 A Yes.

26 Q But the percentages of
27 infant mortality and so forth will remain constant.

28 A Will remain fairly
29 constant, in fact the infant mortality rate should
30 continue to decrease.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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MR. SCOTT: Q Well now, in Southern Canada at least, in the case of industrial accidents, a large proportion of those industrial accidents are treated at hospitals on an out-patient basis, the putting on of a cast or something of that type. Do you follow me?

A Yes, I do.

Q Now -- and perhaps this is for Mr. Ellwood -- is that kind of treatment that is traditionally out-patient treatment in a southern hospital going to be delivered to construction workers at the community hospital or on-site?

WITNESS ELLWOOD: I'm not really familiar with all the regulations that govern these paramedics and doctors and exactly how they work. But as I understand it, accidents or illnesses that do not require an operation can be done by a paramedic, drugs can be administered under the advice of a doctor. He doesn't have to be physically present, but there must be advice by communication between the paramedic and the doctor. Those kinds of things can and will be provided in the camp, ^{we have a} company physician, so to speak, ^{Gas} through the Alberta/Trunk Line right now. I would assume that we'll have our own here, or perhaps two or three, whatever we need. The things that must go to the hospitals, community hospitals or out to the south, are those accidents and illnesses that require operation and doctor's care on the spot.

Q You see, Mr. Ellwood, here's

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 the problem. In the southern hospitals adjacent to
3 a construction site, if a man breaks his arm, he goes
4 to the out-patient department. The arm routinely is
5 set and he goes home and stays at home in his own bed.
6 If in this project he is flown out to the hospital at
7 Inuvik, he's not going to have a home in Inuvik, and
8 the problem will be either to admit him to the hospital
9 whereby he occupies a bed for a couple of days, or
10 to find him a place to live in the community, or fly
11 him right back. Now what I'm concerned about is, is
12 Foothills in a position to give us any detail as to the
13 range of medical services that will be provided in
14 the camps?

15 A I can't give you that
16 detail right now.

17 Q You see, if we knew,
18 for example, that all routine fractures would be set
19 and put in plaster in camp, well then obviously that
20 takes us some distance. Do you think that kind of
21 information can be provided?

22 A Yes, I can provide that.

23 Q Is Foothills contemplating
24 having in the Territories a medical team under the
25 direction of a doctor or doctors?

26 A This is being considered.
27 We have not yet finalized what medical services we
28 are going to have to provide as a backup to these
29 camp facilities.

30 Q Well, can you let us have

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 that when you decide it?

3 A Yes.

4 Q And please err on the
5 side of doing as much at camp as you can? Well now,
6 Miss Jensen, page 21 of the evidence you deal with these
7 modular sewage and water treatment facilities. We were
8 told yesterday, and indeed had been told before that
9 the position of Foothills is that they need these and
10 are constructing them for their own purposes, but that
11 when the project is complete, they will be available
12 at the site for any community or other local organization
13 that may want to move them and utilize them. Have I
14 understood that?

WITNESS JENSEN:

15 A Yes, that's right.

16 Q Well now, in your evidence
17 on the other hand, it seems to be suggested in the last
18 paragraph on page 21 that Foothills, whenever possible,
19 will be designing modular sewage and water treatment
20 facilities in sizes which could be suitable for permanent
21 use in the communities.

22 A Yes, that is my understand-
23 ing.

24 Q Is that so?

25 WITNESS ELLWOOD: Yes, that's right.

26 Q And have they been
27 designed for long-term use as opposed to short-term
28 construction use?

29 A They haven't been designed
30 at all yet.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 Q All right. Do I understand,
3 however, that^{the} thrust of this paragraph is that you
4 will meet with communities to obtain input to enable
5 you to design sewage and water facilities that will be
6 useful not only in the construction camps, but will be
7 useful over the long-term in communities as well?

8 A Yes, it's my understanding
9 that those two requirements are compatible.

10 Q Well, it's my understanding
11 for what it's worth, and in this area it's limited, that
12 there is -- all these things have a life expectancy.

13 A That's true.

14 Q And that a construction
15 life expectancy is very different than the design for
16 a community life expectancy.

17 A The construction life
18 expectancy is a false one. It's set by the term of
19 construction, not by the design of the equipment or
20 the machine.

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Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 Q I take it that it's
3 the posture of Foothills that they will design these systems
4 and their tolerance so that they will be useful in
5 communities?

6 A That's right. What we're
7 saying here is we don't intend to design these things
8 to be worn out or useless at the end of construction.
9 They are ordinarily useful over a much longer time span
10 and we intend to use those same systems which are good
11 over more years than what is required for construction.

12 Q And you intend to negotiate
13 with the communities so that they can be designed in
14 a way that makes them readily modifiable to the use of
15 a community?

16 A Yes, that's what we hope
17 to achieve.

18 Q Yes. Well now, back to
19 police. Is it the policy of Foothills that the police
20 will be responsible for liquor offenses, in connection
21 with these taverns, just as they are in an ordinary
22 community?

23 A I'm having a little trouble,
24 can you give me an example of what you mean by a liquor
25 offense?

26 Q Well, one of the respons-
27 ibilities, I hope, of the Royal Canadian Mounted
28 Police in Yellowknife is, if there's a fight in a tavern,
29 they come in and lay the appropriate charges or break
30 it up or do whatever is necessary. If there is a person

1
2 under age drinking in a tavern, it's ultimately their
3 responsibility to police that and lay the charge.

4 Now, what I'm asking is, do
5 I understand it to be the posture of Foothills that that
6 function will be performed in connection with their
7 taverns by the Royal Canadian Mounted Police?

8 A No. The fights in the
9 tavern and so on, that will be done by the "bouncer".

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Is he going
11 to be on panel two?

12 A For minor offenses, we don't
13 see any requirement to have the R.C.M.P. policing these
14 taverns every night, just as they are not, so far as I
15 can determine, policing the taverns here in Yellowknife
16 everynight. They are not sitting there all night, if
17 that's what you're getting at.

18 Q No, but the police -- it
19 struck me as significant that your first observation was--
20 that the police were going to be in these camps, regulating
21 all matters of general law, apart from permits and other
22 construction regulation. Now, I'm just trying to find
23 out how far that goes. I take it they're not going to
24 be in charge of the regulation of the taverns and what
25 may occur in them?

26 A Well, I think they have
27 authority there, but we're not asking the R.C.M.P. to
28 come there and keep the tavern under control, so to speak.
29 Certainly they do have the authority to come and if there
30 is a fight to break it up or whatever and we don't expect

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 the R.C.M.P. to be in the camp all of the time.

3 Q Are your security people
4 going to be armed?

5 A We have provided for a
6 rifle for the -- to one designated person in the camp,
7 for security reasons and there I'm thinking of a different
8 sort of security with respect to bears and such.

9 Q Well then, now let me
10 just put one other problem to you. These taverns are
11 going to be open to all construction workers, whether
12 they're northerners or imports from Edmonton.

13 A Yes.

14 Q What is the posture of
15 Foothills going to be, for example, in a construction
16 camp adjacent to a community which has voted "dry" and
17 which is providing a number of workmen to the project.
18 Let's take Rae for example, you may have a construction,
19 well you may not have a construction camp near there, but
20 if you did, you have a construction camp in what is
21 essentially a dry community by a vote of the citizens,
22 you have citizens from that community in your construc-
23 tion camp, living. What is the attitude of Foothills
24 going to be in that situation?

25 A My understanding of the
26 way the situation is working in the Territories now,
27 firstly, with respect to some of these communities that
28 are -- either have or are considering prohibition, that
29 alcoholic beverages are not allowed, not just in the
30 community, but in a wider area around the community,

Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 except for through transients. There I'm thinking of
3 a situation like Rae where the highway comes through and
4 the Liquor Board can bring liquor through there, other-
5 wise, you're not allowed to have , or would not be,
6 under the plebiscite arrangement, allowed to have
7 liquor in there. In that situation, if our camp is
8 located in such an area, it seems to me that we can't
9 have a tavern. We must either relocate the camp or
10 delete the tavern.

11 With respect to having people
12 from the community, unless there is an ordinance that
13 prohibits a certain class of people from obtaining
14 alcohol, they would be allowed to drink in the tavern.
15 As I understand it here, now the Dogrib people cannot
16 purchase above a given quantity in the liquor store,
17 they must show their card, but I don't believe that
18 applies in the taverns here so they can go sit in the
19 tavern and have a beer. The same situation would apply
20 to that.

21 Q What's the rationale for
22 having a tavern? Is that pressure from some source?

23 A No, it's our view that that
24 is the easiest, the best method of keeping the consumption
25 of alcohol in the camp, in a controlled situation. So,
26 you don't wind up with a lot of fights, a lot of disputes
27 about whether or not you can bring a bottle in when you
28 fly in from the south or from wherever and generally
29 that this seems to us to be the best way to control
30 the use of alcohol.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Q In short, you see the
3 presence of a tavern and its justification as being an
4 antidote to bootlegging or private supplies which can
5 be troublesome.

6 A Yes, an antidote to the
7 bad effects that come from the bootlegging or private
8 supplies arrangement. The disruption in the work force
9 brings it out. The camp situation, in our view, just
10 runs a lot smoother and the work gets done much better
11 under the situation where you have a tavern.

12 Q Well, is there any study
13 or report on which this theory is based?

14 A There's no study that
15 I know of. It's just the observation of a number of
16 people. This is now being done by Bechtel at
17 the Syncrude project, by Manitoba Hydro at I believe
18 the Nelson River project.

19 Q Well, do you know anything
20 about the experience there?

21 A Only in the case of Bechtel
22 from news reports and in the case of the Manitoba Hydro
23 project, I have no direct experience myself but I have
24 got this through other people in our company who have
25 talked to the supplier of the camp at Nelson River,
26 and their impression and observation of having seen it
27 in operation now is that indeed it has resulted in a
28 smoother operation, less disruption in the work force.

29 Q Because my advisors'
30 experienced in this area tell me that the impetus for

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

bootlegging and private supply may not be affected by the fact that a certain number of hours a day there is a public supply. The public supply may just induce you to look for a private supply when the other dries up. What I'm saying is , is this just a guess, or is there some material on which this is based?

A Well, we don't have a lot of statistics and facts and studies on this. This is the observation of a number of people in our company and others who have -- or in the construction business.

Q Well, is this the observation or is this a result of pressure from working people and trade unions?

A No, it's not. We have never received any pressure from the working people and the trade unions, as far as I know.

WITNESS BURRELL: We've talked to people from Alyeska that have been involved with the camp life, and their recommendation to us/^{is}that the best way to control a liquor situation is to in fact have a tavern, and that's one other input that we've had.

THE COMMISSIONER: At any rate, you're convinced that even if with a tavern there is still an incentive for bootlegging and the establishment of a private supply of liquor, let's assume Mr. Scott's right about that, without a tavern that incentive is much enhanced, or you think so far as you can ameliorate this insistance upon alcohol by supplying a tavern, for supposedly hopefully civilized consumption, you can

Burrill, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 do something about it anyway. That's about as far
3 as you've gotten, I take it.

4 WITNESS ELLWOOD:
A Right.

5 M R. SCOTT: Q And just so I
6 am clear, does the tavern also sell hard liquor?

7 A We haven't decided.

8 Q Have you any views on
9 that?

10 A I would think we would, yes.

11 Q I've been told that the
12 secret of the tavern, if you can call it that, in Fort
13 McMurray, is that it regularly, that is daily, provides
14 live entertainment and is therefore not simply a place
15 where you go to drink but is a place where you go in
16 the evenings to be entertained, and that that really
17 is the measure of its success. There's some other object
18 in being there. Have you given any thought to that in
19 the camps?

20 A Live entertainment?

21 Q Yes

22 A No, we haven't considered
23 that.

24 THE COMMISSIONER: You never
25 know where all this is going to lead.

26 MR. SCOTT: Q Well, have you
27 given any consideration to developing in Foothills a
28 sophisticated alcohol control and rehabilitation program
29 such as exists at Bell Canada or Air Canada?

30 A For the construction phase

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 or the operations phase?

3 Q Well, the construction
4 phase first of all.

5 A I don't think we've given
6 any thought to that matter, or any great deal of study
7 to that matter for the construction phase. My feeling
8 on it would be immediately that this is so short and
9 there's such a high turnover you don't have the staff
10 long enough to be able to grapple with the problem.
11 During the operations phase, this is part of the regular
12 company policy, identification and treatment of alcoholism
13 is a service provided by the company through our physician.

14 Q Well, that brings me to the
15 subject of counselling services, and in various places
16 in your evidence you said that there will be counselling
17 for this, there will be counselling for that, there will
18 be counselling relating to banking, there will be
19 counselling relating to other problems. I take it that
20 there is going to be one counselling service that will
21 be able to provide a variety of kinds of advice.

22 A Yes.

23 Q Now, it seems to me that
24 in connection with alcohol, you might find it useful
25 to examine programs that exist in other industries to
26 train counsellors in alcohol problems -- alcohol control
27 problems, as well as rehabilitation problems. Have you
28 ever considered that?

29 A We are considering that.
30 I was just asking Mr. Burrell if this had come up in

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 a Nortran. I know I've had discussions with Mr. Giroux
3 about the whole counselling aspect of this. We just
4 touched on that problem and in general in the training
5 of counsellors and what sorts of training they need
6 before they'll be able to function.

7 Q Well, I'd like to find out
8 how far you've got along in this. I know it's a
9 terrific thing to say, "You know, we're going to have
10 counselling," but first of all, how many counsellors
11 are you going to have per capita in construction?

12 A Per capita?

13 Q Per employee, or maybe the
14 other way around. How many employees per counsellor?
15 I think it's your evidence, I'm not sure. What is the
16 ratio of counsellors to construction employees going to be?

Purcell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A I don't know that number.
2 We haven't determined what the number would be yet.

3 Q What kind of training
4 are they going to have?

5 A Generally we are looking
6 for people with a background in sociology or related
7 disciplines. As to precise training for specific things
8 like alcoholism, as I say, we have not got into what
9 kinds of training need to be made available there.

10 The experience with Nortran
11 is what we are relying on here in determining the effective-
12 ness of this counselling procedure.

13 Q Is the ration of counsellors
14 to trainees that you have at Nortran the kind of ratio
15 that you are going to have in these construction camps?

16 A No, I would think it would
17 be less in the construction camps. This is a much more
18 intense program in Nortran.

19 Q Well now, in the prison
20 industry which I happen to know a little about, it has
21 been found that one of the counsellors --

22 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: From what
23 end Mr. Scott?

24 MR. SCOTT: Well, one of the
25 counsellor's most important and useful functions is
26 in counselling not only the inmate or construction
27 worker and they both have similar characteristics in
28 terms of containment here, but also in counselling his
29 family outside. That the things that frequently trouble
30 a contained workman or inmate and lead him to do

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 anti-social acts are concerns about his family out in
2 the community from whom he is remote. Now you are
3 familiar with that kind of phenomenon?

4 A Yes.

5 Q Are these counsellors
6 going to have the obligation to participate in that
7 kind of counselling at least when the families are
8 located in the Northwest Territories?

9 A No, we do not intent to
10 provide counsellors in the communities for the families
11 of employees.

12 Q Well have you given
13 consideration to that because it strikes me that that
14 is going to be an area of very great difficulty. You
15 are offering employment to northerners, many of whom
16 live in small contained communities. They are going to
17 be taken for periods of weeks at a time into a construc-
18 tion camp and that the anxieties that result; the
19 family on one side, the workmen on the other, are the
20 proper subject of counselling. Have you considered
21 that?

22 A We are currently doing
23 that through the Nortran program for the operations and
24 maintenance personnel. But for the construction phase,
25 no, we are not considering that.

26 Q Why not?

27 A I suppose the best answer
28 is that the sheer magnitude of the arrangement and the
29 fact that we don't want to be in the position of having
30 sort of a total control over all these things. So there

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 are some services which are best provided on a more
2 general level than to rather have each and every company
3 provide all their own. Services in the communities
4 are, in my view, best provided by the government or
5 some equivalent body. Rather than have an employee of
6 each company who happens to have employees from that
7 village or town providing all these services.

8 Q No, I am not suggesting
9 that you should establish a counselling service in each
10 community. But when you have a man in a camp who has
11 a domestic problem at home and who is worried about it,
12 and who wants to take steps to deal with it, the prison
13 experience, for what it is worth, is that the most
14 useful function of counselling can be to act as a
15 go-between between that man and his family giving both
16 advice in the hopes of solving a current and pressing
17 problem. Now, are you prepared to consider undertaking
18 that kind of role?

19 A I would think that if we
20 had a request from an employee for some assistance in
21 this regard, yes, we would provide it.

22 Q Yes.

23 A But I don't want to give
24 the impression that we are going to set up a big
25 structure here to be able to provide counselling for
26 families in all these communities.

27 Q Because you would agree
28 with me that especially when it comes to budgeting and
29 so on that kind of counselling at both ends is going to
30 be critical to the success of any plan.

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 A Could you restate that?

2 I didn't understand your -- you are talking about in
3 terms of budgeting for this arrangement?

4 Q You have told us and I
5 respect this that one of the problems that you are
6 concerned about is the necessity to develop some kind
7 of budgeting for people who have not always in the past
8 been exposed to that kind of constraint and that you are
9 going to establish this banking scheme and that banking
10 scheme. Now, I suggest to you that all that is, in a
11 sense, unrealistic if you are not in a position to counsel
12 the entire family unit that looks to that bank account.

13 A I would just say that we
14 view our responsibilities as extending to the employee.
15 When it comes to services to be provided for their
16 families in their communities, that that ought to be
17 done on a more general level.

18 Q O.K. Well now, in Alyeska,
19 the most consistent criticism as I understand it, made
20 by the counsellors themselves is first of all that they
21 are not provided with adequate secretarial or support
22 systems. Now, I take it that you are going to see to it
23 that they have adequate secretarial assistance and have
24 available to them all the aids to communication that
25 can be devised?

26 A Yes, I don't think we have
27 any problem.

28 Q That will at least go this
29 far that if a man wants to make an inquiry of his
30 family that is pertinent, these counsellors will be there

Burtell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1 to assist them to do it.

2 A Yes.

3 Q Yes and I take it, and

4 this also relates to the experience at Alyeska, at
5 Alyeska the criticism has been made that the counsellors
6 have no access to transportation except sort of if there
7 happens to be a company plane going on some other
8 business and that they feel that they need the ability
9 to move not only along the pipeline route but into the
10 communities from time to time to assist in the solving
11 of problems. Do I understand that they are going to be
12 given that kind of ability at Foothills?

13 A These counsellors are now
14 going to be on our staff. That's the current plan. They
15 will be Foothills employees rather than contractor's
16 employees. All our employees do have access to the
17 transportation. Yes.

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Burcell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Q Now, on the subject of
3 housing, beginning on page -- I'm sorry.

4 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Mr. Commissioner,
5 I see it's 20 to 1:00.

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, couldn't
7 we finish this panel and start a new panel in the after-
8 noon?

9 MR. SCOTT: Yes, we can, yes,
10 we can. On the subject -- I'll only be a few minutes.

11 On the subject of housing,
12 I take it from your answer to question seven that you
13 do not propose to develop company subdivisions?

14 A That's right, yes.

15 Q You intend to look for
16 serviced land and construct your houses on them, subject
17 to zoning and appropriate building by-laws?

18 A Yes.

19 Q And do I also understand
20 that virtually all serviced land is serviced by the
21 Department of Public Works?

22 A I didn't catch that, repeat
23 please?

24 Q Who services, who has
25 the responsibility of servicing land in the Northwest
26 Territories?

27 A The local government.

28 Q Well now, if you turn to
29 your recommendation, and it's obvious that to meet this
30 need, a good deal of land that is not now serviced, is

1 going to have to be serviced by local government, right?

2
3 A Yes.

4 Q So you can build your houses
5 up.

6 A Right.

7 Q And because you're going
8 to use local construction, there will be a demand for
9 people with the ability to build your houses.

10 A Correct.

11 Q And indeed you intend to
12 use local construction forces, wherever possible, to
13 built the construction camps or the housing element
14 of the construction camps.

15 A No, the housing element
16 in the District Headquarters there, not the construction
17 camp.

18 Q I see. Well, what I'm
19 suggesting to you is, isn't it readily apparent that
20 this programme is going to have two consequences? First
21 it's going to place a very great strain on the municipal-
22 ities who have to provide for the serviced land and
23 secondly it's going to place a strain on the construction
24 forces in the community which are now deployed in building
25 houses for other people.

26 A With respect to the ability
27 of the local government to provide serviced land, if it
28 were apparent to us that the municipality or the local
29 government could not provide the serviced land, we
30 certainly have the capability to do that ourselves.

A Yes.

1 Q Just one question on the
2 supply of gas to the communities. This is a proposition
3 that we've heard a good deal about and I'm not going to
4 get into any of the technicalities. I simply want to
5 ask you what studies you have done, what research you've
6 undertaken to measure the long-term implications if any
7 of that proposal.

8 WITNESS BURRILL: Long-term
9 in what sense?

10 Q Well, you anticipate hooking
11 up with a substantial number of communities and you
12 anticipate, I take it, as good salesmen, that you will
13 do so and those communities will domestically use your
14 gas.

15 A M-hm.

16 Q You've also told us in
17 this recent study that was filed this morning that
18 diesel generating plants in those communities will convert
19 to natural gas.

20 A We've made that assumption.
21 Of course each customer has to make his own decision as
22 to whether he's going to convert.

23 Q I understand, but the theme
24 is, and no doubt it will be priced as attractively as
25 possible, is that all the residences and the central
26 generating plants in the community will convert to gas.

27 A We think the incentive is
28 there for them to do that, yes.

29 Q Well, now what I'm asking
30

1 you is, is this is a massive turn-over, in terms of
2 the Northwest Territories. I'm not interested at the
3 moment, in the cost of buying a new stove or anything
4 like that but have you looked at the implications of
5 this for the Territories as a whole?

6 A With regard to what though?

7 Q Let me give you an example
8 at random.

9 A Yes, give me an example.

10 Q I'm advised that half of
11 the N.T.C.L. traffic, down the Mackenzie is petroleum
12 and that that petroleum, delivered by barge, pays the
13 freight, in essence, for packaged goods and what I'm
14 saying is, what are the implications if that petroleum
15 isn't brought down the river anymore? What are the
16 implications for freight rates for packaged goods?

17 A Well, the natural gas in
18 the community is based on the project going forward,
19 naturally.

20 Q It's based on what? I'm
21 sorry.

22 A On the project going forward,
23 actually being installed. So you have an integrated
24 hydrocarbon system in place. Now, that's going to mean
25 that there's going to be additional exploration, additional
26 well development and that's going to require fuel. Now,
27 we haven't made a comparison as to, with the project in
28 place as opposed to it not being in place, whether there
29 would be more fuel utilized in the case where the hydro-
30

Burrell, Jensen,
Rilwood, Martens
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 carbon system was in place, but I would think that with
3 the project in place, that you would see more barge
4 traffic on the river than if there was no project in
5 place.
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Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

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2 Q We all have views as to what
3 might happen, but it seems to me when you make a proposal
4 that fundamentally is going to change the fueling of
5 large parts of the Territories, you would say to your-
6 self, "Now, what other implications does this have to
7 the life of the Territories?"

8 Have you engaged in that
9 exercise?

10 A As far as barging, we
11 haven't looked at what the change would be in fuel --
12 the quantities of fuel which are transported by barge
13 if the project goes forward. No, we haven't looked at it.

14 Q Bearing in mind that there
15 may be a change in the quantity of petroleum delivered,
16 at least for domestic purposes, have you assessed whether
17 that's going to alter its price?

18 A Well, of course, what we
19 say is that if you use natural gas in the communities,
20 it's going to relieve the -- it's going to reduce that
21 quantity of fuel oil that's needed in those communities,
22 naturally. That means that the Norman Wells refinery
23 will be able to make more fuel oil available to perhaps
24 other communities that will not be using natural gas.

25 Q If it be true that the
26 implementation of this system is going to reduce the
27 domestic petroleum that is brought up the Mackenzie River,
28 or down the Mackenzie River, is there any possibility
29 that that will have implications for the price of that
30 domestic petroleum?

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 A Well, let's take the example
3 the
4 that Norman Wells refinery is now able to -- of course,
5 if the fuel oil that Norman Wells produces is used,
6 as I understand, from Fort Norman north. Now, if those
7 particular communities in the north are the ones that
8 I've listed in our study go to natural gas, that means
9 the fuel oil that was utilized in those communities would
10 be available for use in other locations, and will in
11 fact will tend to displace the fuel oil that's brought
12 in from Edmonton. From that standpoint the price of
13 fuel oil to certain consumers would go down because
14 -- pardon?

15 Q So that's your prediction
16 that the price of fuel oil for domestic purposes will
17 go down?

18 A That possibility exists.
19 I'm not saying that it's going to happen, but that
20 possibility certainly exists.

21 Q Because you see, one of
22 the problems is -- and it may appear trivial to you or
23 me, but if we're telling people that they're going to
24 have a saving by the introduction of natural gas, are
25 they going to pay more for the petroleum for their
26 kickers? Have these things been considered? If you're
27 telling me they're going to pay less for the petroleum
28 for their kickers, that's one thing.

29 A Well, let's say this, that
30 to the extent that fuel oil is currently being produced
in Norman Wells refinery, that fuel is being used for

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 residential purposes. If that, with natural gas coming
3 in, can be diverted to another market area, then I
4 would think the price of fuel would go down because
5 the alternative is to bring the fuel in from Edmonton and
6 I think we all agree that the fuel oil out of Norman Wells
7 would be cheaper.

8 Q Would it be fair to say
9 at this stage in your planning, Mr. Burrell, that
10 although this proposal has been made, you have not yet
11 had an opportunity to review the broader long-term
12 implications of a wholesale alteration in fuel choice?

13 A We haven't considered
14 every aspect, no.

15 Q Yes, just one other
16 question. You're going to provide recreational facilities
17 in the construction camps, are you?

18 A Yes.

19 Q Are you going to provide
20 any educational or vocational opportunities within the
21 camp themselves, or is it going to be the tavern or
22 nothing?

23 A Well, I think if there is
24 a demand for certain facilities, that within reason we'd
25 make them available. People are going to be working
26 long hours and I think the history in Alyeska is that
27 perhaps these recreational facilities aren't going to
28 be used to the extent that they might be. But certainly
29 if there's a request for additional facilities we're
30 not providing, and we can reasonably do it, we'll do it.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Scott

1
2 Q Well, for example, have
3 you been to Frontier College, which has more experience
4 than any other institution in this country in respect
5 of the provision of educational facilities in construc-
6 tion camps?

7 A I personally haven't.

8 Q Has someone investigated
9 that?

10 WITNESS JENSEN: I've looked at
11 Frontier College, but certainly not in relation to this
12 program.

13 MR. SCOTT: All right, those
14 are all the questions I have. Thank you very much, ladies
15 and gentlemen.

16 MR. STEEVES: I have some
17 questions I'd like to put to Mr. Burrell about the
18 gas to northern communities. Should I do that now, sir?

19 THE COMMISSIONER: That you'd
20 like to put to Mr. --

21 MR. STEEVES: Mr. Burrell.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: -- oh, Mr.
23 Burrell, sorry. You have no objection to this, I take
24 it, Mr. Hollingworth?

25 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: It's typical
26 of my friend's irregular habits. He said yesterday
27 that they weren't going to ask questions. Now they
28 want to, but --

29 THE COMMISSIONER: He said he
30 was going to object to Mr. MacLeod's evidence.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

MR. STEEVES: That's right.

THE COMMISSIONER: What you
lose on the swings you make up on the --

MR. STEEVES: That's right.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, maybe --
how long do you think you'll be?

MR. STEEVES: Can I do it now,
sir?

THE COMMISSIONER: Fine.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. STEEVES:

Q Mr. Burrell, I understand
that your scheme for gas to the northern communities in-
volves delivery of the gas at the town gate to a co-
operative or to a private utility. Is that correct?

WITNESS BURRELL:

A To a distribution company.

Q You're not going to be
involved in distribution to a community.

A We're not intending to, no.

Q How are you going to con-
trol the price at which the gas is sold to the consumer?

A In our study, what we
have done is developed the cost of gas to the town gate
as we explained in our evidence, and then the cost of
gas distributed in the community is on a fair share
cost of service basis, and normally these prices, the
rate of return which a distribution company can realize
is regulated.

Q Well, is there any

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1
2 regulation now in the Northwest Territories? Or do
3 you know?

4 A No, they don't distribute
5 too much gas in the Northwest Territories right now.

6 But they do in Alberta
7 and it's a --

8 Q Excuse me, let's talk
9 about the Northwest Territories, if you don't mind.

10 A Sure.

11 Q Is there any regulation of
12 any public utility rates in the Northwest Territories?

13 A I'm sure that the power,
14 Plains Western that are in Yellowknife are regulated.

15 Q I see. Would it be your
16 proposal to deliver the gas to Plains Western in Yellow-
17 knife, for example?

18 A It doesn't have to be
19 Plains Western, it can be any --

20 Q I'm sorry.

21 A It doesn't have to be
22 Plains Western, it can be any distribution company.

23 Q I'm interested in how you
24 propose to deliver this gas to the consumer in the
25 Northwest Territories at the price that's implied in
26 your whole northern gas to communities programme!

27 A Well, the price which
28 we would provide, it to the distribution company would be
29 the price which we have stated as our town gate price.

30 Q I see.

Burrell, Ellwood, Jensen, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

A Like any other system is
done anywhere else.

MURIEL L. JENSEN
Hillwood, Macleod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q The utility would have
2 the right, under present law in the Northwest Territories,
3 to add any margin of profit to that they care to, is
4 that not correct?

5 A Well, I don't know about
6 any margin of profit. We relate to the Alberta situation
7 where the return is controlled, regulated.

8 Q Well your scheme is really
9 somewhat of a farce unless the rate of return to the
10 distributor is controlled, isn't it?

11 A I wouldn't say it was a
12 farce. I don't know how you can make the assumption that
13 it is not going to be controlled -- the rate of return
14 is not going to be controlled. I mean, you know --

15 Q Well you make the assumption
16 that it is. Is that correct?

17 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Let the
18 witness finish the answer he is making.

19 A I think that is a proper
20 assumption Mr. Steeves.

21 MR. STEEVES: All right. Well
22 what have you assumed about the markup that will be
23 added to your cost or your price between your delivery
24 to the distributor and delivery to the consumer? Have
25 you made any assumptions about that?

26 A Certainly. We have priced
27 out the cost of distributing gas and distributing --

28 Q Where does that appear in
29 your material?

30 A Where does the cost appear?

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 Q Yes, the cost to the
2 consumer.

3 A Oh, if you refer to our
4 Exhibit number 226 that was filed with the Commission
5 some time ago, you will find that the technique that
6 we use for calculating these costs are provided and we
7 used Fort Simpson as the example.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Including
9 the distributors end.

10 A There is an amount shown
11 as to how much the distributing cost is.

12 MR. STEEVES: Well I think what
13 you've said for Fort Simpson is \$1.90/1,000. Is that
14 right?

15 A Well, I'd have to look it
16 up.

17 Q O.K. Would you look it
18 up please? I would like to go over that with you.

19 A Are you referring now to
20 226? The exhibit?

21 Q Yes.

22 A O.K.

23 Q Do you have a copy of it
24 there?

25 A I'm just looking it up now.
26 I have it now.

27 Q It's \$1.90/1,000 in Fort
28 Simpson for distribution is it not?

29 A That's in year 1984?

30 Q Yes.

Hutchell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A Yes, that's right.

2 Q How is that figure

3 calculated please?

4 A Well we had a firm which
5 is well familiar with the distribution of natural gas
6 develop for us the cost of installing a distribution
7 system in Fort Simpson as an example. They did it for
8 all the other communities that we are proposing as
9 planned. From that, we apply the normal owning and
10 operating costs associated with a distribution system
11 and that came up with a cost per MCF.

12 Q Is it your understanding
13 that the delivery of public utilities north of 60 is
14 governed by the same rules and the same rates of return
15 as those in Alberta?

16 A You are saying is the
17 rate of return which these companies are allowed to
18 realize is the same as those in Alberta. Is that what
19 you are saying?

20 Q Yes. I am asking you.

21 A Yes, that's the question, is
22 it?

23 Q Yes.

24 A I am not certain of that
25 but certainly the numbers that we apply to this are
26 representative of what the industry as a whole realizes.

27 Q Does your gas to northern
28 communities program assume 100% saturation of the market?

29 A It assumes a high saturation
30 yes.

Barrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1
2 assume 100%?

Q Can you tell me does it

3
4 A Not quite 100.

Q What does it assume?

5
6 A I'd have to look that up.
It doesn't the 50% that Arctic Gas assumes though.

7
8 Q I'm sorry. I'm not asking
9 you to make statements. I am asking you to answer my
question.

10
11 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that
was an aside preparatory to answering the question.

12 A It's in the high 90's.

13
14 MR. STEEVES: Well, can you give
me a figure or have you just guessed at it?

15 A No, I haven't guessed.

16
17 Q What saturation have you
calculated?

18 A In 1981, it's .297 and
19 1988 it's .984.

20
21 Q Can you tell me anywhere
22 in Canada where the saturation rates are that high for
natural gas at the present time?

23 A I think Calgary would have
24 a very high saturation rate. These numbers are, my friend,
25 are generated on the information that are given to us
26 by people that are in the distribution business and know
27 what it's about.

28
29 Q Are you calling me your
friend?

30

Burrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 A I'd like to think that I
2 could look upon you as a friend. I've been around Allen
3 Hollingworth too long.

4 Q I'd like to ask you about
5 the actual cost for gas in for example, Fort Simpson
6 for the year 1985. Do you know the table to turn up
7 to answer that?

8 A These are including all
9 components?

10 Q Yes. It's \$7.46 as
11 compared to \$5.64 for the equivalent in fuel oil. Does
12 that make sense to you?

13 A Which table are you referring
14 to?

15 Q Well I'll just leave the
16 figures with you if I can. I understand that you have
17 assumed for 1985 a purchase cost of \$134/1,000. Am I
18 correct?

19 A That's correct, yes.

20 Q Pardon me?

21 A Yes, that's correct.

22 Q And that you have assumed
23 for transportation \$4.22.

24 A No.

25 Q Is that correct?

26 A No.

27 Q I'm sorry, you say that's
28 not correct.

29 A Not by my tables, it isn't.
30

1 No.

2 Q I am referring to your
3 response to question five of deficiency letter number
4 four. Do you know what I am talking about now?

5 A Are you referring to the
6 deficiency letter that the National Energy Board --

7 Q Yes. Your appendix 4.5.2
8 which shows as I understand it the actual transportation
9 cost.

10 A Would you repeat the
11 number for Fort Simpson to make sure I have the right
12 table here please?

13 Q For Fort Simpson I have
14 \$1.90/1,000.

15 A Yes, that's the distribution
16 cost. You've mentioned some larger --

17 Q I have the transportation
18 and I understand that's set out in -- do you have 4.5.2.
19 in front of you?

20 A If you could show me the
21 table you are referring I'd have a much easier time I
22 think.

23 Q I'm sorry. What figure
24 have you got for Fort Simpson for 1985?

25 A In our filings to the
26 National Energy Board under that deficiency letter,
27 we're showing that in 1985 under our plan the delivered
28 cost to Fort Simpson is \$3.78.

29 Q O.K. What's the
30

Murrell, Jensen
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves

1 transportation cost now for Yellowknife in 1985? You
2 can read that off the same table can you?

3 A Well these are not just
4 the transportation costs, these are the costs of the
5 purchasing the gas, the cost of gas in the mainline, and
6 the lateral and also the distribution costs. So, if
7 you say "transportation costs", do you mean the trans-
8 portation costs within the lateral itself or do you
9 mean the total price?

10 Q No, I mean from the
11 producer to the town gate.

12 A Producer to the town gate?

13 Q Yes.
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Burrell, Jensen,
Ellwood, MacLeod
Cross-Exam by Steeves.

1
2 A Under our plan? For
3 Yellowknife, under our plan, 1985 for Yellowknife
4 the charge is 53 cents per MCF.

5 Q I'm sorry, how much?

6 A 53 cents an MCF.

7 Q I thank you sir.

8 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.
9 Well, thank you very much, Ms. Jensen, Mr. Burrell, Mr.
10 MacLeod and Mr. Ellwood, we have had a very useful
11 discussion and I have found it most helpful, so thank
12 you and you're excused and I have no doubt we'll see
13 Ms. Jensen at least, and I wouldn't be surprised if we
14 saw others on panel two.

15 So, -- what time is it?

16 MR. STEEVES: It's five after
17 one.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
19 adjourn until 2:15.

20 (WITNESSES ASIDE)

21 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED UNTIL 2:15)
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Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Mr. Bayly?

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,

there are several pieces of evidence to be given by this Panel 3 witnesses, all the witnesses have been sworn either today or previously. I propose that that evidence be read into the record in the following order:

Industrial impact by Mr. Brody;

Traditional economy by Dr. Usher;

Overview evidence by Mr. Brody;

Overview evidence by Mr. Usher;

And overview evidence by Mr. Beakhust.

Before that, sir, I have before me the curriculum vitae of the two witnesses who have not previously appeared before you, and I will ask them if they will go through that.

HUGH BRODY, sworn:

PETER J. USHER, resumed:

GRAHAME BEAKHUST, sworn:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY:

Q Mr. Brody, if we could start with you, please. I understand that you're the holder of a Bachelor and Masters Honors Degree in Philosophy, Politics & Economics from Trinity College, Oxford. Is that correct?

WITNESS BRODY: Yes.

Q And that you have studied sociology and participated in the Oxford Sociological

Brody, Beakhu st, Usher
In Chief

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Seminars, etc., and have a position as lecturer in
social philosophy at Queens University in Belfast.

A That's correct.

Q And that during the period
from 1969 to 1974 you did work for the Department of
Indian Affairs studying problems among migrants to
prairie cities and studying communities in the Eastern
Arctic.

A True.

Q And that in 1974 you were
made First Honorary Associate of the Scott Polar
Institute at the University of Cambridge.

A Yes.

Q And you continue to
hold that.

A Yes.

Q And that you have from
1974 to the present prepared a study of the need for
an outpost policy in the Northwest Territories.

A Yes.

Q And have acted in 1975 as
consultant to the Department of Indian Affairs.

A True

Q And that you have worked
on the Inuit land use and occupancy project overseeing
the work for the North Baffin region land use.

A Yes.

Q I wonder if you could
describe that briefly for the Commission so that we can

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Brody, Beakhu. st, Usher
In Chief

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Indians on Skid Row, yes. The common theme that runs through all the publications that I've listed there is the predicament that peoples are experiencing a great deal of sensual, psychological and economic pressure from outside their own society.

Q And you're responsible for the other publications which you've listed in this document.

A Yes.

Q Mr. Beakhust, if we could turn to you. As I understand, you're the holder of a Bachelor of Arts in Philosophy, Politics & Economics.

WITNESS BEAKHUST: Correct.

Q And a Master of Arts from McGill in Political Science and Law.

A Yes.

Q And another Masters which you obtained in 1971.

A Yes.

Q And what was that in?

A That was in philosophy and politics.

Q Yes, and that you have been working on your Ph.D. at McGill and that with the exception of the completion of the reading of your thesis, your work is virtually done for that degree.

A That's correct, my thesis is complete.

Q And could you outline those

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 of the previous positions that you have held which you
3 feel are pertinent to the evidence that you will be
4 giving today or tomorrow?

5 A Primarily I suppose the
6 position I held with a survey company while I was living
7 in Yellowknife over a period of 2½ years, and various
8 other associated work I did here, and academic positions
9 I've held since 1971. Since 1971 I've been teaching
10 Graduate School in Toronto and leading their seminars
11 and workshops on northern development since that time.
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Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 Q You've been teaching those
2 seminars at York University?

3 A That's correct. Seminars
4 primarily oriented towards the subject matter of my own
5 thesis. That's administration in government in the N.W.T.

6 Q Yes. I understand that
7 although your thesis for your doctorate is not yet
8 available, that there are a number of chapters which have
9 been published and would be available if any of the
10 participants in the Inquiry were interested in them.

11 A That's correct.

12 Q You are responsible for
13 the publications which are listed in your curriculum
14 vitae?

15 A That's correct.

16 Q Mr. Commissioner, I would
17 propose that the curriculum vitae of these two witnesses
18 be filed as exhibits before the Inquiry.

19 I wonder if we could begin Mr.
20 Brody with your evidence. Mr. Commissioner, I believe
21 Dr. Usher needs no introduction and I don't he has had
22 a chance to write anything new since his curriculum vitae
23 was last introduced.

24 WITNESS BRODY: I should explain
25 that I wrote three papers on contract to the Commission,
26 to the Inquiry itself and that two of these papers have
27 been called by COPE with a third to be called by the
28 Commission. There's a sense in which these three papers
29 fit together and ^Iwrote them to be read rather than to be
30 read aloud. Therefore, this first one should be

Beahust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 understood as the outline of some general issues rather
2 than an attempt to cope in detail and at a proper level
3 of sophistication with all issues that we are going to
4 be raising.

5 Q I wonder if just before
6 you begin Mr. Brody, I understand that Dr. Usher has a
7 comment that will outline where this panel is going
8 prior to commencement.

9 WITNESS USHER: Can I leave
10 that until after the first two pieces of evidence?

11 Q Certainly.

12 A The only thing I would
13 like to say about the evidence that we read now is that
14 it was written prior the appearance of the industry
15 panels and we have since tried to add a few notes here
16 and there to respond to some of the issues in discussion
17 in the last two weeks. But if I could save the other for --

18 Q Right. There are two
19 pages which have been circulated Mr. Commissioner which
20 are additions to the first piece of evidence that Dr.
21 Usher will be reading into the record.

WITNESS BRODY:

22 A The vastness, coldness
23 and low biological productivity of the north have given
24 rise to a very remarkable paradox. On the one hand,
25 human population has always been small and widely
26 scattered. The largest single aboriginal Arctic
27 community was probably no more than 2,000 strong. Entire
28 culture areas in the Canadian north comprised population
29 clusters of between ten and 50 persons. The qualities of
30 the north have also meant that it lay for a long time

Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

beyond the reach of agricultural interest or industrial possibility. On the other hand, these same fundamental qualities have meant that once the industrial potential of the north became apparent, it has only been capable of being tapped economically by the application of huge amounts of capital and large-scale operations. Therefore, when industry does come to the north, we find the smallest, most isolated societies along side some of the most costly and technically complex development projects in the world. Hence the paradox. The smallest along side the largest, the most traditional along side the most modern and the most remote becoming involved with national and international economic interests.

The interaction between industrial development and small, isolated communities has been a central part of social scientific concern since the 1920's. There is a vast literature dealing with problems of culture contact and colonialism in all parts of the world. Yet the pattern in the Arctic does not fit easily into the best documented models. The reason for this is simple enough. Industrial advance in the north does not represent a southern wish to make use of either native peoples or of vast new lands. It includes neither of the main ingredients of classical colonialism -- the wish to profit by reserves of labor, or by increased land. Instead, it is motivated by what lies under the ground in comparatively restricted areas and shows a preference for imported labor which it often houses and supports on industrial sites. This means that the impact of industrial development on small

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 northern communities does not necessarily have a great
2 deal to do with the sudden penetration of a native
3 community by overwhelming numbers of outsiders nor does
4 it mean the direct expropriation of land upon which
5 native peoples have long depended. Having placed these
6 differences on record, it is still important to look at
7 the similarities.

8 The small community has a
9 number of features that are of special relevance and
10 importance. On the one hand are the economic factors:
11 these societies are poor -- at least relatively so --
12 and are economically dependent on the larger society for
13 some essential goods. Local resources are not able or
14 are no longer able to support the population's demand
15 for goods even if it is theoretically possible for them
16 to supply basic foodstuffs.

17 On the other hand are the social
18 factors; the small community is highly integrated, and
19 local foodstuffs are shared in such a way as to maximize
20 their use and minimize local inequalities. Family life
21 is well regulated and each generation grows into its
22 expected roles without too much conflict. And, finally,
23 there are political factors: the small community is
24 at least indirectly under the aegis of another far more
25 powerful social order of which it is politically a part.

26 These characteristics as a set
27 constitute what sociologists have like to call an "ideal"
28 type and are not necessarily shared by all small
29 communities. Moreover, the characteristics I have
30 listed are more typical of remote societies where an

Beahust, Usher, Prody
In Chief

1 aboriginal culture is of not too distant historical
2 importance. They do, therefore, include the settle-
3 ments and camps of the Canadian north and it is worth
4 keeping such factors firmly in mind when looking at the
5 effect of industrial development on such communities.
6 It is not just smallness that is of relevance but also
7 the degree of remoteness, political subordination,
8 economic dependence and solidarity of community and
9 family life.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 We must also be as clear as,
2 possible about the kind of industry that is at issue
3 here. I have said that the north is not experiencing
4 massive influxes of white labourers or adventurers, as
5 happened, for example, during the gold rushes in California
6 and the Klondike. Nor is it experiencing the gradual
7 settlement and transformation of the lands, as happened
8 with the agricultural revolution in the Prairies. Nor is
9 it experiencing the growth of cities with factories and
10 proliferating secondary manufacture, as happened in the
11 first colonies of the new world.

12 We must be wary of finding
13 analogies where analogies do not properly exist; and we
14 must guard against an overly generalized idea of industry
15 and industrial development.

16 In fact, industrial advance in
17 the north has distinct characteristics. It is high wage,
18 capital intensive, and dependent upon highly rationalized
19 economies of scale. It is a frontier mode of economy,
20 and accordingly has distinct ideological components,
21 including individualism and mobility of labour.

22 In relation to policies for
23 native peoples, it involves a strongly held view that
24 it will provide things that native societies badly need,
25 more money, opportunities for participation in the
26 mainstream of Canadian life, and what is broadly thought
27 of as progress. Thus industry is often seen and indeed
28 is often justified as a solution to the problems of
29 small native communities.
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 In this discussion then, I
2 shall look at the relation between these characteristics
3 of northern industrial advance and the characteristics
4 of small northern communities already discussed.

5 I will cover three broad areas
6 of inquiry, the economic, the social and the political
7 with specific emphasis on the questions of money and
8 sharing as well as on problems of individualism, identity
9 and mobility and the way in which industrial development
10 tends to be totally intrusive.

11 Throughout I shall be supposing a
12 simple model of industrial development in which a large,
13 elaborate and costly programme for mine, oil and gas
14 site or pipeline is either geographically or economically
15 close to a small native community.

16 It is often said that northern
17 natives are poor and that the obvious solution to the
18 problem of poverty lies in providing more opportunities
19 to earn higher wages. In fact, native income is not at all
20 easy to calculate. One study of income distribution in
21 the Mackenzie Delta region, published in 1972, gives annual
22 per capita earnings for Indians as \$829.64, for Eskimos
23 as \$666.89 and Metis as \$1,146.52. These figures are com-
24 pared with the \$3,554.00 per capita annual income for
25 whites. But these figures are puzzling. Other sources
26 estimate that the annual income equivalent for country
27 foods alone is in the region of \$4,000.00 per family, which
28 yields by itself a higher per capita income figure than
29 the total income suggested by the 1972 study.

30 Usher's work indicates that the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 value of country foods in the Mackenzie Delta is even
2 higher and could in fact come close to \$8,000.00 per
3 family per annum.

4 Rushforth's study of Indians
5 living in the Great Bear Lake area show that in the
6 years 1970 to '75 nearly 60 percent of households depended
7 upon country food and sales of fur and that the dollar
8 value of these gave a real
9 income of at least \$600.00 per capita per annum.

10 If these figures are adjusted
11 to include the value of all furs traded, plus a small
12 allowance for equivalence of home-made clothing, Rushforth's
13 data suggests a household income of at least \$3,500.00 per
14 annum. Inuit and Dene people are not attached to their
15 land by sentiment alone. These figures should not be
16 interpreted as demonstrating that the inhabitants of
17 small northern communities are wealthy, or that they
18 lead economically secure lives. They do, however, give
19 rise to some very interesting questions about the impact
20 of industrial development.

21 Remembering that such programmes
22 are capable of offering jobs at high wages and remembering
23 also that members of the effected community are short of
24 the money they need to buy goods and services that they
25 have come to regard as essential, one consequence is
26 likely to be a reduction of earnings or earning equivalents
27 from land based and traditional activities.

28 This effect, however, is not
29 as simple as it might at first appear. Industrial employ-
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 ment does not wipe out with a stroke, all production
2 of country food. It does not even put an end to trapping
3 and earning from sales of furs. Indeed, because wage
4 earners can afford to improve the technology they apply
5 to the harvesting of renewable resources, high wages
6 can actually be beneficial to traditional economic activity.
7 Thus, we find that in many regions land use has remained
8 effective and in some cases, has increased despite all
9 kinds of modernization. But, in the extreme cases, all
10 the evidence suggests that when employment is in the
11 form of urban-like concentrations, whatever the levels
12 of earning in the industrial sector, the use of land and
13 country foods declines. This is exemplified by Frobisher
14 Bay, the Hay River-Pine Point area and Inuvik.

15 In Frobisher Bay, for instance,
16 there is now a persistent shortage of country foods,
17 including seal meat and whale skin, whereas 15 years
18 ago the area was providing enough meat and fish for the
19 subsistence of about 65 percent of the present Inuit
20 population and all their dogs.
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Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

We must therefore propose a sort of sliding scale, along with move loss of earnings from local foods and sales of skins, in a fixed relation to the degree of participation in industrial development projects. Insofar as such employment reduces earnings from land-based activities, loss of such earnings must be placed on the debit side when we do the accounts for the effects of industrial employment. The size of this debit will tend towards a sum of about \$5,000 per family per annum -- though regional factors suggest a range from somewhat less than \$5,000 to as much as \$10,000. The basic point is simple enough. The impact of industrial development includes loss of earnings as well as gains. Small communities are made poorer as well as richer by development, even in terms of the narrowest economic considerations.

This impact is, however, closely associated with income distribution inside small communities. Like so many village dwellers who have, in the not too distant past, lived in relative economic isolation, Inuit and Dene peoples are proud of the ways in which they share the produce of the land. The activity of hunting may be comparatively individualistic, but its produce tends to be communal -- at least insofar as those in want are able to approach successful hunters and ask for food. Also, the basic means of production -- land -- is regarded as communal. Requests for food were never refused; the right to use land was rarely disputed. Money, however, is not so readily shared.

Beakhust, Brody, Usher
In Chief

1 It tends to be regarded as the earner's own private
2 property and spent on his or her immediate family's
3 personal needs. Moreover, it tends to be spent on con-
4 sumer durable goods, which cannot by their nature, be
5 divided among neighbors. The shift towards a money
6 economy thus creates a possibility for poverty that
7 previously did not exist. Those in want are more likely
8 to stay in want, and substantial inequalities introduce
9 themselves into native communities. This has implications
10 for statistics about income levels. It is possible,
11 in an unequal society where the basis of wealth is not
12 shared, for average per capita income to go up while
13 the number of households experiencing poverty is also
14 increasing. Total income and the number of poor people
15 can rise together.

16 Inequality is also evidenced by
17 the way in which money benefits hunters. High earnings
18 can be used to maximize a hunter's mobility and reduce
19 the time needed for making kills; a new snowmobile,
20 supplies of fuel and spare parts, and rifles with accurate
21 telescopic sites go a long way towards ensuring a success-
22 ful hunt. But the families that are in a position to
23 buy and maintain expensive equipment of this kind are
24 the ones that have secured highly paid jobs. This means
25 that those with most cash are also in the best position
26 to be successful hunters, at least in the short run.
27 In fact, of course, their lifestyle and inclinations are
28 frequently at odds with realizing such potential, but
29 the paradox nonetheless remains. Those who are most
30 inclined to hunt and who have carefully elected to

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1 maintain the hunter's life pattern are often least
2 equipped to hunt with efficiency. This means that hunters
3 feel at a relative disadvantage vis a vis wage laborers,
4 from a purely technological point of view. And if the
5 families with highest money incomes are not prepared to
6 share their hunting produce, then the paradox becomes
7 extreme. The hunters' families are the ones with least
8 meat. In fact, the wage laborers, generally speaking,
9 do not hunt so hard as to have a large amount of meat
10 to share. Moreover, they are the men and women who are
11 most involved with the individualistic notions of the
12 new, outside social order, and therefore are the least
13 inclined to share beyond their immediate family circle.
14 This means that riches of all kinds tend to concentrate
15 in fewer families, and that poverty begins to be
16 associated with hunting, trapping and the traditional
17 options.

18 Loss of prestige follows in the
19 wake of economic disadvantage. Once hunting is associa-
20 ted with poverty, the hunter loses his status within the
21 society. In this way the small community's sense of
22 cultural distinctiveness is eroded. On a global scale
23 small agricultural villages have suffered as much as
24 groups of semi-nomadic hunters and gatherers wherever
25 industrial development has established a rival economic
26 mode. The problem is a social and psychological one,
27 however, because the affected community has only partial-
28 ly lost its own sense of tradition and culture. Despite
29 all the transformation that industry brings to the north,
30 most northerners continue to regard the land and use

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

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2 of the land as central to their identity. As this
3 identity comes under pressure, it becomes harder and
4 harder to live in a way that provides a sense of self,
5 a sense of cultural worth, and therefore a sense of
6 self-respect. These are difficult, perhaps obscure,
7 social-psychological notions, but they correspond to the
8 feelings and fears that are widespread in communities
9 that are experiencing the impact of industry.

10 No amount of additional money
11 income will resolve these problems. Indeed, further
12 development of the wage labor mode of economy will
13 aggravate many of the difficulties. Communities in
14 which this process has reached near extremes are now
15 notorious.

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Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

Frobisher Bay, in the southern Baffin region is perhaps the best known example. The 900 Inuit living in the town are always short of country food, even seal meat. However, earnings are high since a majority of families are supported by wage labor. The level of material life in Frobisher Bay is certainly higher than in any other settlement of that region if income and spending habits are taken as the standard.

Despite their more or less complete incorporation into a money and laboring way of life, Inuit of Frobisher Bay express anxieties about their identity and say that they are hungry for "real food". The scale of the community's alcohol, prostitution and family breakdown problems is all too well known. Less well known is the fact that a significant proportion of the community Inuit wish to be able to spend more time hunting and one group is trying to establish an Inuit community outside Frobisher as a permanent hunting camp. Over the past five years, the problems in Frobisher have worsened, and in some sectors, are close to being critical. Demoralization and social disorganization are spreading gradually deeper and deeper into the Inuit community there. This process will not be halted by more work or more money.

But the effects of industrial development are not only to be found in disorganized communities where the workers live. The frontier encourages men to become mobile. Work opportunities come and go so the laborers must come and go as well. This is already happening in the eastern Arctic.

Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

During the late 1960's, the wage labor factor was in virtually every Eskimo settlement associated with a number of part and full-time jobs in and around the village itself. However, the local community could provide only a limited number of jobs so the availability of work for the new northern industries looked like an opportunity for maintaining the rising standard of money earnings. But to take advantage of such opportunities, the workers had to go away from home.

In the case of the oil and gas industry, they had to travel long distances and because of the arrangements at the Arctic Islands sites, they were away for twenty days in each month. Approximately 40 Inuit work each shift which represents between 15 and 25 percent of the labor pool of the communities concerned. If however, nothing comes of the oil and gas search in the Arctic Islands area, then the communities will either have to accept a sudden and drastic loss of income or their workers will have to go to some other location. In fact, there have been rumours that such an adjustment will be necessary and the contingency plan provides for the men to go to the mine now being established at Strathcona Sound.

THE COMMISSIONER: You are speaking of PanArctic here?

A I am speaking first of PanArctic and secondly of Mineral Resources International.

Q Yes.

A In order to work there, they

Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 will have to accept much longer periods away from home
2 -- perhaps as much as three months at a stretch. So
3 the mobility of the work force becomes a condition
4 of its ability to find work. Those who do not want to
5 be mobile must accept not earning. Communities that
6 want to avoid the effects of such mobility must accept
7 that they cannot take advantage of the industrial
8 frontier. But all the pressures, including those that
9 stem more or less indirectly from governmental policies
10 in the north, make it very difficult to decide against
11 participation. As a result, industrial development
12 tends to create an increasingly mobile work force. That
13 mobility causes the maximum of disruption to the home
14 community and disorientation to the native worker.

15 A theme of my argument through-
16 out this submission has been that the debit side of
17 economic impact is at its greatest when development is
18 both large scale and from the local point of view,
19 short-term. A boom in the labor and money economy
20 very rapidly causes changes in hunting and trapping
21 practices as well as in spending habits. Evidence shows
22 that in only a few years a community can become dependent
23 on high earning levels and store bought food and
24 clothing. The speed of this transition can itself be
25 disruptive. It aggravates native feelings of non-
26 participation and loss of control, for life is suddenly
27 altered with a minimum of consultation and agreement
28 with those most directly affected. In this situation,
29 there is no time for consideration of how changes can be
30 moderated in the light of local needs and wishes.

Beakhust, Usher, Prody
In Chief

1 The problem of consultation
2 is of special relevance. On the one hand, Inuit have
3 rarely felt able to oppose southerners' wishes. As
4 southerners represent their innovations as their wish,
5 they thereby minimize the possibility of the kind of
6 dialogue that genuine consultation must entail. I shall
7 discuss this matter in another paper but it needs to be
8 stated in the context of industrial impact.

9 When a small society is incorporat-
10 ed into the industrial sector of the dominant economy,
11 the effects are obviously enormous. If the society
12 is relatively isolated and has a very different economic
13 mode of existence, and the change is to take place in
14 a short time, the effects are massive. The pressure of
15 time in the industrial society however, means ~~that there~~
16 is little room for negotiation or consultation. Two
17 years tend to be regarded as a long time in such matters.
18 Agreement from native communities may be secured, but
19 if this is done in short order and we must remember our
20 history of native acceptance of southern purposes and
21 ways, then such agreement is likely to be little more
22 than notional or tokenistic.

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Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

What is more, the discussions that do take place have often been bedevilled by misunderstandings. There are serious language problems, not to mention the vastly different traditions of dialogue and social exchange that govern the representative of industry and the representatives of the Inuit or Dene communities. Inuit are slow to decide, and prefer to wait on the gradual emergence of community opinion before expressing a definite point of view. They are also suspicious of mere opinion, and regard an error of judgment as a lie. But decisions about industry can rarely wait long. The harsh economic realities are always said to be pounding on the door. From the native point of view, their representatives seem to be stormed into making decisions, into giving agreements, and into expressing their wishes and conditions for the southerners' programs.

Yet these programs are very likely going to transform every aspect of native life. If sociology and anthropology have a message, it is that the economic mode exerts an influence on every part of social and even personal life. Its transformation sends shock waves, often lasting more than a generation, through the societies affected. Consideration of these shocks, and attention to how they can be minimized or avoided, requires a great deal of time -- time that is rarely allowed. As a result, the inhabitants of small communities are led to feel that everything that affects them most deeply is beyond their influence.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

The case of the Nanisivik Mine in North Baffin Island (Strathcona Sound) is illustrative. The mine is situated only 15 miles from the Community of Arctic Bay. In 1972 to '73, rumors reached Arctic Bay that the mine was going to be opened. In 1973-74 the government considered an application for a subsidy to the company concerned. Although ores had been discovered as long ago as the 1950s, and in 1962 the development potential of the area was examined, in all that time no background work had been done on the availability of labor, the kinds of impact the mine would have, and the attitude of the community as a whole to its establishment. The chairman of the Arctic Bay Community Council had worked for some years with the mining company as a guide and assistant, and his views were now canvassed. No in-depth or protracted investigations were carried out in either Arctic Bay or other settlements in the region from which labor was to be used. In 1974 a local Oblate missionary and a number of social scientists expressed concern about the impact, and reported that in some settlements there was growing unease about the possible effects of the mine.

Nevertheless, in June, 1974, an agreement was signed between the Federal Government, the mining company, and two representatives of the Inuit community. At about the same time the Arctic Bay Community Council wrote a formal letter protesting about several aspects of the mine as it was then planned, and also made clear its unhappiness at the way Inuit

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 interests were not being allowed time to emerge. By the
3 fall of 1975, workers were going to the mine from Pond
4 Inlet, Igloolik, and Arctic Bay. If the Arctic Bay
5 Community Council has reported the consultations
6 procedure accurately, then they were pushed into agreeing
7 to a project that they felt threatened the social well-
8 being and possibly the very existence of their community.
9 The councils of Pond Inlet and Igloolik were consulted
10 only insofar as representatives of the Federal Government
11 spent a few days in the area trying to point out all the
12 advantages of the mine, and representatives of the mining
13 company visited settlements to recruit workers.

14 It may happen that the Nanisivik
15 Mine will instigate the kinds of changes that this paper
16 has tried to describe. If it does, it will have done
17 so with scant attention to views and feelings of the
18 Inuit people, views and feelings, I might say, that
19 required three years to emerge. This is largely a con-
20 sequence of speed. It cannot be said too often that
21 the relative scale of northern extractive industries
22 on the one hand and small native communities on the
23 other, works very much to the detriment of the small
24 community. The disadvantage is compounded by historical
25 factors and the basically dependent status of northern
26 settlements. In this situation, haste is likely to maximize
27 the potential for damage to Inuit and Dene life.

28 The relative disadvantage of
29 small traditional communities can also be seen at the
30 level of labor recruitment. Because the development is

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1 large scale, the impact is felt by everyone in the
2 community. There is not so much a selection as a total
3 intrusion. In the case of small-scale developments,
4 those who are particularly qualified for, or inclined
5 towards wage labor, are selected or select themselves;
6 in the case of large-scale programs, all available man-
7 power is urged to move into the new job opportunities.
8 Since those who live by hunting, trapping and occasional
9 labor are often regarded as partially or wholly unem-
10 ployed, pressures are applied throughout the traditional
11 sector of the economy. These direct pressures are inten-
12 sified by the recurrent cash problems of those who have
13 opted most firmly for a life based on renewable resource
14 harvesting. So it is that persons -- or even whole
15 communities -- most likely to have cultural and personal
16 links with the land and its resources are most firmly
17 pushed towards participation in industrial activities.
18 Hence the total intrusion effect.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

I have witnessed this process in the eastern Arctic, where industrial enterprises have tried to find Eskimo labour in communities where hunting and trapping are integral parts of life but are not easily able to compete with the pressure from the corporations employment officers. As a result, those who work at the sites include men who most wish to be at work on the land and the communities affected feel that their way of life, or the way of life that they most value, is threatened.

I began this by noting a paradox, the juxtaposition at the northern frontier of the grandest capital-intensive development projects and the smallest, most isolated of native societies. This co-existence is likely to be short lived. The native communities are in danger of being engulfed by the social and economic modes of the extractive industries. In some locations, this process is already underway and we can witness its development. The paradox is revealed in the total intrusion effect, and the consequences for northern communities are correspondingly severe.

But we should not be fatalistic and there is not necessarily a need for the enforced isolation of small communities. The pace of industrial development can be restricted and time allowed for suitably protracted consultation with and deliberation by Inuit and Dene people. It may transpire that an adjustment can be made with various forms of industrial enterprise, but it will be an adjustment rather than a response

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 to pressure or another acquiescence, only if time is
2 allowed for present experience and local opinion to
3 mature. Similarly, the nature of local participation
4 in industry can be controlled. Those who want to take
5 their place in the extractive industries should, of
6 course, be able to do so, but those who do not want to
7 or those who are anxious about maintaining what they
8 regard as their traditional basis of their community's
9 social and economic practices, must also be able to
10 realize their aims.

11 Critics of industrial develop-
12 ment are often regarded as enemies of progress. Social
13 scientists who focus on the damaging impacts of extractive
14 industries are often characterized as romantic dreamers
15 who want to call a halt to history, to turn the clock
16 backwards, and there may at times, be some truth in
17 such allegations, but it seems to me that in the end,
18 real progress, human progress that is, in the interests
19 of all Canadians consists in expanding options, not in
20 restricting them. It is when people or even whole society's
21 cannot do the things they regard as most important and
22 most useful that human pathologists spring up, when
23 retreatism, apathy, and futile violence become endemic.
24 Industry does not exist alone, but has socially and
25 politically determined forms. It is amenable to social
26 controls and can be put to the service of society. It
27 can therefore, be either useful or disruptive in the
28 north. The larger the scale, the more urgent the impetus
29 towards its development, the more scrupulously it must
30 be monitored and that requires time, patience, and

1 intelligent regard to the experience at hand. It is not
2 for me to say what native northerners do and do not want
3 but I do feel able to say that if industrial development
4 is allowed to rush forward in the interest either of
5 industry itself or of short term gains to a segment of
6 southern society, then native society will experience
7 the kinds of difficulties I have tried to describe. I
8 find it hard to believe that anyone can want that.

9 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
10 it's up to you whether you want to break now for coffee
11 or go on to Dr. Usher's first piece of evidence.

12 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, let's
13 get into it and which one is it?

14 MR. BAYLY: It's the "Traditional
15 Economy of the Western ARctic", sir.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, it's
17 the usual length. Why don't we go 10 or 15 pages and
18 then break for coffee.

19 MR. BAYLY: I've tried to keep
20 it to the usual length sir.

21 WITNESS USHER: You want to
22 break it at some place where there's a heading then, or
23 whatever you want.

24 MR. BAYLY: Okay.

25 A The Eskimos dependence on
26 the land is both economic and cultural, it has both a
27 past and a future. In this piece of evidence, I will
28 examine this economic and cultural dependence, its relation-
29 ship to the northern economy as a whole, some of the
30 implications for present patterns of land use and assess

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 the future role of the land and the traditional activities
2 based on it in Eskimo life.

3 It is well known that the
4 Eskimos, at one time, depended directly on the land for
5 their entire existence. Beyond the memory of virtually
6 everyone alive today, this dependence was purely at the
7 subsistence level. By the turn of the century the
8 subsistence economy was already being displaced by a
9 market economy, trade with the white man, first in meat
10 then in furs, grew in importance and all became dependent,
11 not only on what they could obtain from the land for
12 domestic use, but also on whatever surplus they could
13 trade for imported goods.

14 Nonetheless, dependents on the
15 land and in particular its renewable fur, fish and game
16 resources remained accute and complete. By the 1950's
17 the fur trade economy was in collapse. The response of
18 the rest of Canada was to shore up the native economy
19 with wages, welfare and education. As a result, the
20 dependents of native people on their land is no longer
21 complete in economic terms.

22 Almost everyone, native or white,
23 doubts that it ever could be again although few agree on
24 the degree to which that dependents could or should
25 assume.

26 This change is certainly of
27 great significance, but in fact is not as dramatic as it
28 might superficially appear. 20 or 25 years ago, the
29 casual observer could not have failed to be impressed by
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 the Eskimos involvement with the land. The settlements
2 established for trade, missionizing and administration
3 were largely devoid of Eskimos save for a few times
4 of the year for they were out on the land hunting and
5 trapping. All had boats and dog teams. Housing was crude
6 by southern standards and constructed almost entirely
7 of local materials. Clothing was of a distinct local
8 style and the diet was almost exclusively of country
9 food.

10 All the external appearances
11 of native life were still evident, despite the on-set
12 of economic crisis.

13 No longer is the traditional
14 life so visibly in evidence. Dog teams are rare, skin
15 clothing non-existent and the old fur trade posts have
16 turned into modern general stores. The small coastal
17 and bush camps have been mostly abandoned. Instead,
18 one sees Eskimos living in modern prefab houses, driving
19 trucks and taxis, working for wages from nine to five and
20 enjoying such modern conveniences as colour television,
21 refrigerators and snowmobiles.

22 So, it's easy for the casual
23 observer to assume that the old ways are dead and with
24 them, native involvement with the land. Indeed, that
25 assumption has provided the basis for government policy
26 in the north for at least 25 years. The applicants before
27 this Inquiry share that assumption. They have suggested
28 that although they neither desire nor intend to disrupt
29 the traditional way of life, only a few older people are
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 really involved in it and it will gradually die out as
2 the young people embrace the wage economy. If this, in
3 any way misrepresents their position, then I think the
4 change is very recent.

5
6 In any event, many argue that
7 the traditional resources can never again provide a
8 sound economic basis for native northerners.

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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 you could explain the reason for that in terms of the
2 study that was conducted?

3 A O.K. Well the main reason
4 for that in terms of the land use and occupancy work
5 that we did was that I was responsible for these five
6 communities and another person was doing Holman,
7 Coppermine and further east. So my research didn't
8 include Holman.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: Well I am
10 sure there's a good reason for it. I just wanted to
11 make sure that Holman was, in fact, excluded.

12 What about -- maybe you were
13 coming to this but do Inuit living in Inuvik reveal
14 a tendency to be involved less with the land than the
15 Inuit in those other communities whether their involvement
16 is trapping for cash or subsistence hunting?

17 A I think that's a fair
18 generalization. Certainly.

19 Q A penetrating glimpse of
20 the obvious I suppose. That's why I am here.

21 A For a population of about
22 2,000 Eskimos divided into roughly 300 families, this
23 represents an average income of about \$8000 per family
24 from the land. Now of course this income varies from
25 year to year. 1973-74 was a good one for both meat and
26 furs. Moreover, this income is not equally earned or
27 distributed. I might add that in terms of the weight of
28 meat, this works out to about 225 pounds per capita or
29 slightly above the national and central Mackenzie Valley
30 figures cited by Asch on the 8th of July, 1976.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

Only in the two smallest communities, Sachs Harbour and Paulatuk, do virtually all residents make their living from the land. Country food is abundant at both places and at Sachs Harbour, trapping is so productive that cash incomes from it are normally rather higher than would be the case with wage employment. In Tuktoyaktuk and Aklavik, only a minority live exclusively by hunting and trapping although many more do some trapping and some wage work depending on opportunities. Even those who work for wages full-time spend weekends and holiday hunting.

In Inuvik, virtually no one lives exclusively by hunting and trapping. This is partly because those who chose to move there did so in response to wage opportunities and in fact, Inuvik is poorly located for trapping and hunting, and also because the physical and social environment of Inuvik is not conducive to a land based way of life. Nonetheless, most Eskimo men in Inuvik get out hunting, if not trapping and there are a few families living in delta bush camps near Inuvik.

There exists throughout the western Arctic an elaborate network of exchange in country produce on both a commercial and private basis. For example, Arctic char from Paulatuk and caribou from Banks Island are eaten in Inuvik while muktuk from Tuktoyaktuk adds to the diet of the Bankslanders. Those unable to provide for themselves from the land receive food from their neighbors or relatives, particularly those in Inuvik may receive food from relatives in other

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 communities. Hence, no Eskimo is divorced from the
2 land or the sustenance it provides.

3 The maps of Eskimo land use
4 in the western Arctic have been submitted as Exhibits
5 to this Inquiry and explained by many people at the
6 recent community hearings. I have put a couple up in
7 the back again just to show them. These maps document
8 many specific changes in land use patterns. Some
9 areas have fallen into disuse from time to time, others
10 opened up. Some species are less sought after and others
11 more so. Yet the overall extent and intensity of the
12 use of the land has remained essentially constant. Within
13 living memory, the people of the western Arctic have
14 exploited nearly 100,000 square miles of land and water
15 for their existence.

16 Despite almost complete urban-
17 ization, despite a massive government drive to provide
18 alternate sources of income, chiefly through wage
19 employment and despite the large amounts of cash coming
20 into the region in the form of wages some communities
21 are harvesting more fur than ever. Throughout the region,
22 country food is common far at mealtimes. Those who
23 have steady jobs are often to be found out on the
24 land on their weekends and holidays. Recent confrontations
25 with government and industry over land use priorities
26 have revealed a depth of feeling and concern for the
27 land perhaps previously unarticulated by Eskimos and
28 unsuspected by whites. Such concerns have been expressed
29 at the community hearings not only by older trappers but
by young men who foresee a dependence on the land perhaps

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 different but no less important than that of their
2 fathers.

3 This situation was not predicted
4 by administrators or social scientists a decade ago.
5 Indeed, it appears to be barely recognized by policy
6 makers even now. It does not conform to the
7 conventional wisdom that the old way of life is gradually
8 dying out. Since these facts are at considerable
9 variance with the views expressed in almost all industry
10 and government impact statements about the pipeline,
11 I will explain briefly my basis for asserting them.

12 For the next sections, I might
13 point out are based on two of the volumes listed on
14 the back pages -- documents relied on. Those are
15 "Historical Statistics in Evaluating Country Food".

16 The existing literature suggest
17 that there is some confusion about how to measure and
18 evaluate productivity in the traditional sector of the
19 economy and indeed who is involved in it. The simple
20 questions, who depends on the land and to what degree,
21 seem to have complicated answers. First, there is the
22 problem of measuring the volume of country produce.

23 There are no comprehensive
24 historical statistics on actual fur and game harvest,
25 only isolated and occasional observations. It is there-
26 fore necessary to use data sources which approximate
27 harvest levels and to estimate the reliability and
28 degree of this approximation. There are a variety of
29 government and private data records which have approximated
30 these harvest levels or continue to do so. Their purpose,

1 nature and reliability are extensively discussed in my
2 report on historical statistics which is submitted as
3 an exhibit along with this evidence. These data series
4 almost invariably provide underestimates of native
5 resource use. The degree of underestimation varies
6 essentially from very slight in the case of furbearers to
7 moderate in the case of most big game animals, to very
8 large in the case of seals and migratory birds. In
9 addition, there are no regular records kept of the
10 take of certain species at all such as fish, most
11 small game, some birds and most marine mammals.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

Any assessment of country produce which relies solely and uncritically on official sources begins by under-estimating the true volume of domestic production by anywhere from 5 to 50%, and perhaps more. Further, the reliance on occasional statistics, such as are found in government reports and independent research studies, which were obtained on single or sporadic occasions only, must be treated with extreme caution. Short-term, cyclic-like variations, as well as long-term shifts in the availability of many boreal and Arctic species, are well-known. General inferences from occasional statistics are therefore extremely risky.

Even where the harvest is known, the question arises as to which part of it is potentially fit for human use, or is actually used. Some animals are the source of more than one product. I believe the value of country produce used for bedding, clothing, shelter and heat is less than 10% of the value of that used for food in the Western Arctic. We may eliminate these from further consideration, except to note that although they may be only a small component of the traditional sector, they are in some cases completely irreplaceable.

Actual use varies both with locality and time. We have only sporadic observations and measurements of this use, from which generalizations can be made only with caution. There is also the problem of converting the number of animals to their

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

total edible weight. This varies from place to place with cultural preference and hunting practices, hence the existing literature on weight conversions can be used only as a rough guide.

It is theoretically possible but highly impractical to gather truly accurate data on these matters. Rough estimates will have to suffice in the future as they have in the past. One can only hope that the criteria for making such estimates will be widely enough known and well enough understood and that they will be made explicit by those who do attempt such estimates.

Second is the problem of evaluating domestic produce, that is imputing a cash value to country food which never enters the market economy. Attempts to evaluate country produce in a non-agricultural subsistence economy have been few, and although in some respects the literature is consistent, most is without theoretical foundation. Most authors have used substitution costs as the basis for imputing value. It is evident from the literature, however, that two other methods have suggested themselves: local exchange rates and opportunity costs.

These two methods are deficient for both practical and theoretical reasons. First, data for either are sporadic and inconsistent. Second, both rarely reflect a true market value, and both fail to meet what I consider to be the essential criterion for imputing value to country produce. In economics one can distinguish between a market-equivalent index, such

as local exchange values or opportunity costs, or a welfare-equivalent index such as substitution costs. (By "welfare" I mean an indication of personal and social well-being rather than the popular implication of indigence or subsidy).

Regarding the impact of development, the choice depends on the perceived nature of the problem. If one can be sure that there is no conflict between modern non-renewable resource harvesting and traditional renewable resource harvesting due either to environmental or socio-economic factors, that is that people will be truly and invariably free to participate in either sector, then market-equivalent measures are appropriate for establishing which activity makes a greater contribution to the total economy. If on the other hand there is a conflict, and the two activities may prove mutually exclusive, then welfare-equivalent measures must be introduced since the proposed development will obviously affect the welfare of the traditional users of the land. Hence the substitution measure is the only appropriate one for the purposes of this Inquiry. In other words, we must ask the question, "If a man did not or could not obtain country food, how much would it cost him to feed his family by buying the equivalent food at the store?"

There is general agreement in the literature that reasonably equivalent imported domestic meats are appropriate substitutes for country food. In view of the widespread distaste among native people for vegetables or tinned meats for anything more than

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 occasional fare, there can be no question that the
3 substitution of these items for country meat would imply
4 a loss of welfare regardless of the price or quantity.
5 To a lesser extent, this is also true of imported
6 fresh meat, as is discussed further below. It is
7 therefore not reasonable to ascertain substitution costs
8 on the basis of radically different protein sources than
9 are in common use.

10 The value of imported domestic
11 meat is easily ascertained as shown in Table 5, which
12 gives the retail meat prices for three settlements in
13 the Western Arctic in the winter of 1974-75. Realistic
14 substitution values in the Western Arctic as of early
15 1975 were in the order of \$2.50 to \$3. per pound for
16 red meat; \$1.80 for birds (and one has to note that
17 waste on many imported cuts effectively raises their
18 price per edible pound); and \$2. for fish. Parentheti-
19 cally it is evident from the table that in the smaller
20 largely native communities where people are most dependent
21 on country food, the imported meat substitutes are more
22 expensive than in the predominantly white transient Town
23 of Inuvik. Further, imported meats are not available
24 in the smallest communities such as Sachs Harbour and
25 Paulatuk. If they were made so, it may be assumed that
26 freight charges would add substantially to their costs.

27 One must also consider the nu-
28 tritional value of the proposed substitute. Table 6
29 indicates the relative proportion of protein per unit
30 of edible weight of various meats. Evidently, two pounds

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

of country meats have the equivalent protein value of perhaps three pounds of imported red meats. Now, if one assumes that the chief element of scarcity from which meat derives its value is in its protein content rather than its fat content, then on a protein equivalent basis the value of caribou and moose is more like \$4, or \$4.50 per pound; birds \$2.50; while fish remains at \$2. Protein equivalents are only one, although perhaps the most outstanding aspect of nutritional comparison between country food and imported substitutes. The example merely highlights the complexity of imputing appropriate values to country food.

Now, although the use of substitution values in the analysis of the northern economy has been fairly consistent in principle since the late 1960s, researchers have failed to adjust the actual values for changing circumstances and prices. Whereas values of 50 and 60¢ per edible pound of meat may have had some basis in fact in the mid-1960s, the use of figures ranging from 60¢ to \$1½ in the mid-1970s is totally unrealistic. The failure of previous investigators to appreciate the full value of country food has led to serious under-estimates of the contribution of traditional activity to the total regional economy, and hence to conclusions that some native communities at least are without a viable economic basis. The imputed value of country food is no less subject to inflation than other commodities, and it may be assumed that it will continue to increase in the future. Actual values derived are necessarily imprecise, due to the absence of completely

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

comparable substitutes.

Now there are a number of highly important but non-quantifiable, intangible considerations affecting the whole notion of imputing a cash value to traditional sector activity. Cash equivalent figures derived by the method recommended here are useful only in that they provide some estimate of the value of specific commodities to their producers in comparison to alternatives, and in the context of a modern market economy; although even this statement must be qualified. They do not and cannot indicate the value of hunting as a social or cultural activity, or as a way of life. They do not and cannot indicate the value to the native hunter of the environment which produces these resources.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 Imported meats may be the
2 closest possible substitute for country food, but they
3 are by no means perfect. People like country food
4 better than store bought food, indeed, many insist
5 that a steady diet of imported foods would be abhorrent
6 to them. In their opinion, country food not only tastes
7 better but it is also more satisfying and nutritious.
8 There is no satisfactory substitute for country food,
9 hence, anything which might be substituted for it entails
10 an absolute loss of welfare for native people of
11 incalculable proportions.

12 Food preferences and practices
13 are an important part of any cultural heritage and are
14 often very deep-rooted. In a society where hunting is
15 central to the traditions, foods have a richness of
16 meaning which stems from their procurement, distribution,
17 and preparation as well as their eating. There are
18 special ways of eating native foods which are reflected
19 in eating and sitting arrangements, the implements used
20 and the distribution of the food which are important not
21 only to the individual but to the family. The provision
22 of frozen beef cuts to replace muktuk, caribou ribs,
23 frozen fish and ptarmigan soup would destroy these
24 arrangements just as surely as the provision of beans and
25 bread as substitutes. Country food has nutritional
26 social and cultural values in Eskimo society which
27 cannot be replaced by any substitute and cannot be
28 measured by market criteria or evaluated in cash.

29 Of all those who have attempted
30 to evaluate country produce in the north, only the

Beakust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 government economist, Palmer, has explicitly recognized
2 these limitations in doing so. He correctly emphasizes
3 that:

4 "The traditional sector and the market sector are
5 two different economic systems"

6 and that:

7 "To attempt to find the correct price for country
8 produce is illusory".

9 He concludes only that it is better to approximate
10 these values and appreciate their limitations than to
11 ignore them entirely.

12 Now, if hunting is more than
13 the mere act of obtaining food, then it follows that
14 to evaluate country produce does not thereby evaluate the
15 activity of hunting. Much less does it suggest the
16 value of lands from which the produce was obtained. It
17 may be tempting to some to imagine that if only one
18 could measure traditional activity, then in the even
19 that it is disrupted by major resource developments,
20 it would be a straightforward matter to provide compensa-
21 tion for these damages. It would be convenient if one
22 could simply calculate the productive value of a piece
23 of land and compensate accordingly for future production
24 foregone, just as is done with farmers when parts of
25 their land are taken for highways, power pylons or oil
26 wells. The analogy is inappropriate however. The nature
27 of the northern environment as a productive habitat is
28 entirely different from southern farmlands or forests.
29 It is frequently all of one piece so that the elimination
of any one part of it may reduce the value of the whole

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 disproportionately. There is no way one can evaluate
2 a way of life and there is no way to compensate for
3 its loss. Modern industrial society commonly fails to
4 distinguish between peoples' livelihoods and their
5 ways of life. It is too often supposed that compensation
6 for the loss of the former is sufficient for the loss
7 of the latter as well.

8 There has been considerable
9 discussion of the problem of evaluating country food
10 at this Inquiry and I must emphasize the intangible and
11 'non-compensable aspects of it. I would not like to see
12 the results of this discussion misinterpreted or misused.

13 As a final observation on
14 this subject, the idea of compensation by substitution
15 assumes that the proposed substitute will be in reasonable
16 and constant supply in perpetuity. I think there is
17 no assurance that Canadian society can guarantee itself
18 the amount of red meat over the next few decades to which
19 it has become accustomed in the past. If it cannot,
20 then there is uncertainty about its ability to provide
21 meat on a regular basis at realistic prices to parts of
22 the country which are distant from producing areas and
23 whose small populations and wealth give them little
24 political power. Many native northerners are well
25 aware of their good fortune in having plenty of meat
26 at a time when they hear increasingly of undernourishment
27 and starvation in other parts of the world.

 The north may well be the
28 place where a poor man's table is laden with meat
29 of course. It seems to me the height of

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 irresponsibility to impair the productivity of lands
2 and waters which can supply food only in the form of
3 meat at a time when the world may be entering a period
4 of food shortages and particularly meat shortage of
5 such proportions that we cannot now even imagine what
6 they will mean to our daily lives and to our society.

7 Do you want to break for coffee
8 there?

9 MR. BAYLY: Would this be an
10 appropriate time to break for coffee Mr. Commissioner?

11 THE COMMISSIONER: All right.

12 A I'd go for a steak.

13 MR BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner;
14 I checked with Miss Hutcheson with regard to the maps of
15 which these two represent only part of the series. They
16 have been sent to the Inquiry, but not listed as
17 exhibits and I would propose that the entire set which
18 is presently in the Ottawa offices of the Inquiry be
19 marked as an exhibit at some time in the near future?

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, those
21 maps should be marked as exhibits so as to become
22 part of the official record of the Inquiry.

23 MR. BAYLY: Yes. Copies have
24 been distributed to all the participants. -- all the
25 major pariticipants.

26 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K. Fine.

27 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: We're at
page -- well, we've all got our texts open. I think --

WITNESS USHER: We were at page 12.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, right.

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
just before I ask Dr. Usher to begin, in response to
your question this morning, I had someone in my office
check the following ordinances, fair practices, employment
agencies, labour standards, wages recovery, and workmen's
compensation ordinances, and found no provision with
regard to a prohibition from asking a question in
application form regarding criminal offenses as well
as the following federal statutes, the Fair Wages and
Hours of Labour Act and the Arctic Service Employment
Act, with the same results.

THE COMMISSIONER: Okay, so
at the very least you can put it on the application form,
"Have you been convicted in the past?"

MR. BAYLY: Sounds like you could,
yes.

THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

MR. BAYLY: Okay.

WITNESS USHER: Another matter
of apparent confusion is the number of people participating
in the traditional economy. Some of the confusion appears
to stem from the Gemini North data, on which both applicants
have relied. That report makes the following assertions,
96 persons engaged in full time or regular part time trapping

1 the latter undefined, in the entire Mackenzie Valley.
2 28 man years of employment in the Mackenzie Delta in
3 trapping and hunting. Incoming kind provides only 3
4 percent of regional income. Trapping provides only 2
5 percent of total income in the Mackenzie Delta.
6

7 For the year 1972, the report
8 suggests income from furs amounted to only about \$188,000.00
9 and incoming kind, only about \$97,000.00 for Aklavik,
10 Tuktoyaktuk and Inuvik. This figure is a little over
11 10 percent of what I calculated for 1973, '74. Such
12 assertions on the part of the applicants lend credence
13 to the notion that the traditional sector can and does
14 produce only a miniscule part of regional income and
15 any disruption which may be caused to it, is of little
16 economic concern. Only of psychological concern to a
17 few older people.

18 This argument is fallacious for
19 two reasons, one is that incorrect data and assumptions
20 leads to false conclusions about the contribution of the
21 traditional sector to native incomes.

22 In 1973, according to Gemini
23 North, the total income for Aklavik, Tuktoyaktuk and
24 Inuvik was just over \$9,000,000.00, of which almost
25 \$8,000,000.00 accrued to Inuvik alone. I think if one
26 makes a generous calculation of the native component
27 in Inuvik and assumes virtually all the income in the
28 smaller settlements accrues to native people, it would
29 be reasonable to estimate native income in the three
30 communities at about \$2,000,000.00, almost all of which

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

comes according to Gemini's calculations in the form of wages.

Dr. Hobart provides figures on income derived by native people from exploration employment, which between the years 1971 and 1975 averaged about 1.15 million dollars, including McPherson and Arctic Red. The latter two provided less than 10 percent of the total. In 1973, '74, the year in which I calculated fur and food income to be about 2.4 million in the western Arctic, exploration activity provided less than 1.1 million in wages.

In recent years, it would appear that native income from hunting and trapping is about equal in income from wages -- to income from wages. About two million dollars each, thus hunting and trapping produce not 5 percent, but more like 50 percent of native income. If this is the case, both the degree of poverty in the western Arctic and the need for income from wages there has been considerably overrated.

Now, I think the crucial point here is that although in the last couple of weeks we seem to have come to some agreement about the method of evaluating country food, this agreement does not seem to have caused Dr. Hobart, or apparently either of the applicants to change their analysis of the northern native economy accordingly.

Now, the second fallacy is --

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me, I think Dr. Hobart would say that underlying trends are

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 still there and still of paramount importance. Notwith-
2 standing an enhanced appreciation of the extent of the
3 bush economy and the extent of its survival. I would --
4 I think that's more or less the position he adopted.
5 I'm not asking you to comment, but I think you're right,
6 it didn't induce Dr. Hobart to alter his analysis, his
7 analysis still leads to the conclusion that all the
8 trends point to a preference, a continuing preference,
9 expanding preference for wage employment among native
10 people. That's the Hobart thesis.

11 A Yes. Yes, that's so. I
12 would -- I think we'll probably be getting into -- all
13 of us probably, that problem of preference later on
14 in our evidence.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Whatever you
16 just said, isn't written down here, that's why I latched
17 into this conversation style.

18 A Oh, right.

19 The second fallacy is the way
20 in which people are defined as participating in the
21 traditional sector. If half the regional income is
22 indeed provided through 28 man years of effort, then
23 there are some previously unheralded supermen hunting
24 and trapping in the Mackenzie Delta. The truth of the
25 matter is that the essence of modern hunting and trapping
26 is it's combination with part time or even full time
27 wage employment. As soon as one seeks to categorize
28 people by occupation, on the assumption that they have
29 only one occupation and are therefore one thing or another,
30 then the number of people who get classified as hunters

1 and trappers is indeed small. Such an approach simply
2 cannot properly measure participation in the traditional
3 sector.

4 Some hunters can get their entire
5 years supply of meat on weekends and holidays, in fact
6 there are no accurate measures of participation in the
7 traditional sector. I think however, that we are forced
8 to conclude that in view of the total volume and value
9 of country produce, and the declared reliance of so
10 many people on it, that the great majority of families
11 have one or more members actively engaged in the
12 traditional sector for at least a few critical weeks
13 of the year.

14 Further, the incoming cash and
15 kind so gained is critical to the welfare of these
16 families.

17 The next section is derived from
18 the land use and occupancy report, which was done for
19 Inuit Tapirisat in conjunction with these maps and was
20 in part, an input to the report that Hugh Brody referred
21 to earlier.

22 These facts demonstrate a
23 fundamental and continuing economic dependence by native
24 people on the traditional resources. This economic
25 dependence explains why native people, have, from time
26 to time told this Inquiry that the land is like a bank
27 to them, their constant and reliable sustenance so long
28 as it remains healthy. But there is also a deep rooted
29 social and cultural reliance on the land. To native
30 people, the land is more than just a source of food or

1 cash, it is the permanent source of their security and
2 of their sense of well-being. It is the basis of what
3 they are as people. They know that the land and the
4 birds, fish and animals it supports have sustained them
5 and their ancestors since time immemorial. Properly
6 cared for, they feel it can always do so.

7 I believe there is a strong
8 desire on the part of the western Arctic Eskimos to
9 retain their identity in the essence of their way of
10 life. They consider that in order to do that, the
11 land and the animals must be part of their life. In
12 that sense, the land sustains them in their communities.
13 Without the land, and everything it means, native people
14 would lose that which makes them special in their own
15 eyes. They fear that they would have to become hollow
16 imitations of white people. It is not simply that the
17 Eskimo people feel the land belongs to them, they belong
18 to the land.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 Nativ e peoples' concepts of
3 freedom and self-determination are closely linked with
4 the integrity of the land. "Free life" is a commonly
5 heard expression with regard to life on the land. Those
6 who do not now live on the land, who work and live in the
7 settlements, still regard the land as an essential part
8 of their lives. Few fail to express an awareness that
9 the security of town life was bought only at the cost
10 of this "free life". The weekend or holiday trapper
11 and hunter is a growing phenomenon in the Western Arctic,
12 as wage employment becomes more widespread. The impor-
13 tance of this phenomenon is vastly underestimated by
14 outsiders who see it as a mere pastime or sport, or who
15 see it as inefficient or unspecialized. It is in my
16 view absolutely essential to the well-being of Western
17 Arctic society. This is due not only to the economic
18 reasons already cited, it is necessary for the social
19 well-being of individuals.

20 There have been many enormous
21 changes wrought in the Western Arctic in this century.
22 Until recently, all of these were restricted to town
23 life; in geographical terms to a few tiny dots on the
24 enormous map of the north country, a few square miles
25 out of hundreds of thousands. The land itself remained
26 untouched. The rules of town life did not apply on the
27 land. The land was a refuge. The weekend hunters go out
28 partly because they need the food. They also go to get
29 back to an older, simpler, but more interesting and re-
30 warding way of life. On the land, men who work all

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 week for someone else suddenly become their own bosses
3 again. They can work according to their own rules and
4 disciplines, not the half-understood ones imposed by
5 the white man's wage system. On the land, men can
6 operate by the time they understand, the time dictated
7 by nature, not by the clock. On the land the humdrum and
8 the pressure of town life disappear. Many Eskimos
9 become themselves again, different people who might not
10 even be recognized by those who know them only in town.
11 They are, at last, alone among their own people. Espe-
12 cially those who live in Inuvik, where more than in
13 other settlements many feel they are in a world not of
14 their own making and not under their own-control, are
15 liable to feel that going out on the land is what makes
16 their lives worth living, and indeed what really gives
17 meaning to their lives.

18 Hunting as an expression of
19 cultural identity is of profound importance to the
20 Eskimo and is sometimes engaged in even when it is
21 clearly uneconomic. This remains true for the younger
22 generation as well. The large proportions of total
23 cash income spent by almost all men on hunting, trapping
24 and travelling gear, even if these tools do not provide
25 their chief source of income, are indicative of their
26 commitment to a land-oriented way of life. Further,
27 country food and the ethics and values associated with
28 obtaining, sharing and eating it, are of profound
29 significance to native people, as has already been
30 mentioned.

There has clearly been a trend toward urbanization in the western Arctic. Many outsiders see this as a one-directional and irreversible trend. Many Eskimos do not share this view. Their commitment to town life is in certain respects very low; they commonly suppose that town life is a temporary phenomenon, and that they have made a temporary adjustment. Very few people who made the move considered it permanent at the time, or indeed as anything other than a temporary accommodation to their economic difficulties, and almost certainly none foresaw the full implications for the future. Many of these people express the conviction that in a few years when they are finished working, or when their children don't have to be in school any more, they will return to the bush or the coast. At a recent trappers' meeting in Inuvik, for example, when the matter of seismic cut lines in the delta was the topic of concern, it was the commonly expressed sentiment that the integrity of the delta environment must be maintained, not simply on account of animal productivity, but because the delta was a home to which they would one day return.

It may be argued that this is nothing more than nostalgia, and in fact people will not leave the communities to go back on the land. Not many families have actually moved back to the land, although there are a greater number which have moved from larger settlements to smaller ones. Many of these people, it may be noted, were not failures in Inuvik

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 by southern criteria. They were people who held steady
3 jobs for years. What is important here is not whether
4 the wisepread "back to the land" sentiment is realistic
5 or will ever be put into general practice. Rather it
6 is that the existence of the land in its integrity as
7 a place to return to is crucially important to the
8 psychological well-being of many Eskimo town dwellers.
9 It is one thing to be voluntarily in a situation not
10 entirely to one's liking (although many Eskimos do not
11 see their current residence in the settlements and
12 especially in Inuvik as entirely voluntary). It is
13 another to be trapped in it with no prospect of escape.
14 The land as a refuge, permanent or temporary, from town
15 life and outsiders, is of tremendous psychological
16 importance.

17 The sense of involvement with the
18 land is^{not} solely an individual matter, but a community
19 matter as well. People identify themselves by their
20 community. People have roots in a community. They have
21 relatives and friends there with whom they work, relax,
22 and share good times and hard times. People help each
23 other, and by their collective efforts make life better
24 for every member of the community. Around every community
25 there are places to trap, to fish, to get water and wood,
26 to go for picnics or to pick berries. The community
27 depends on these places. The things that are done there
28 are part of community life. Without these places,
29 community life is poorer, and indeed less viable.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

The desire to preserve the land is paralleled by a desire to preserve the character and integrity of the small communities, and indeed these considerations are closely inter-related. There is a communal sense of ownership of the hunting and trapping areas around the communities. The commitment to life on the land, or in small native communities, is bound up with a commitment to a certain social order and way of life which is collectively enjoined by all in the social group. The survival of communities is seen to depend on the integrity of the lands in which the community has an interest. Conversely, the effective use of land and the maintenance of a way of life based on it is seen to depend on the survival of the small native communities. The effective trapping and hunting depends in part on the internal arrangement of the community, how people live, where they live, and what space they have around them, what activities occur at certain seasons, and so on. It is no accident that very few people in Inuvik are full-time trappers and hunters. In a community of that size, density, diversity and plan, it is difficult to keep a dog team or get wood, difficult to protect one's snowmobile or boat from theft or vandalism, difficult to ensure the well-being of one's family while absent on extended hunting or trapping trips. For those who wish to pursue a land-based way of life, Inuvik is simply not the place to live. It follows that whole communities which choose to live by hunting and trapping are anxious to ensure that

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their communities do not become like Inuvik. There is a deep-rooted anxiety among the people, not only of Sachs Harbour and Paulatuk, but of Aklavik and Tuktoyaktuk as well, that their communities may one day become like Inuvik.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 This concern is based on their
2 perception of the fundamental relationship between pre-
3 serving the land and the fur, fish and game it supports
4 and preserving the culture, society and way of life which
5 are based on the land and its resources. The small all
6 native (or largely native) community is an integral
7 part of that system.

8 Now about 2,000 Eskimos in the
9 western Arctic use almost 100,000 square miles of land
10 and water. They have definite notions about the extent
11 of their collective territory and its limits. I would
12 also suggest that they view their territory as a total
13 and indivisible environment resources complex.

14
15 That so few people should know
16 and identify with such a large region should not be
17 surprising. Very large amounts of land are required
18 for individual and community sustenance. Travel has
19 always been an integral and important part of life in
20 the western Arctic, whether for traditional hunting
21 visiting or change of residence or for modern business,
22 health care and schooling. Though the people of the
23 western Arctic may be isolated according to the percep-
24 tions of outsiders they are in general far better
25 travelled and more familiar with far larger areas than
26 are southern Canadians. To travel hundreds of miles
27 over so-called trackless lands in search of game is
28 a perfectly normal and accepted part of Eskimo life.
29 So also is having and visiting -- there may be a mis-
30 print here. I am not sure -- relatives -- no, I am sorry,

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 there isn't -- relatives or marrying someone or going
2 to work temporarily in a community which is several
3 hundred miles distant.

4 There is also some evidence
5 that people have a more abstract or generalized notion
6 of a type of environment resources complex or habitat
7 as a homeland which extends beyond the areas currently
8 known by individuals and beyond the collective notion
9 of the western Arctic region. Some people articulate
10 the idea that the proper homeland for Eskimos is wherever
11 there is a familiar physical environment and adequate
12 resources to sustain traditional Eskimo life. If a
13 person were not able to sustain himself and his family
14 in his home community, then he would think of moving
15 to somewhere else where there is familiar game.

16 The Eskimo people have from
17 time to time migrated long distances. Despite these
18 movements, people speak of having occupied the land for
19 centuries. They do not feel that they ever left their
20 territory in its largest sense and moved to a new one.
21 In other words, the universally held notion of continuous
22 occupancy relates not necessarily to specific geographic
23 points or areas, but to the Arctic environment. Beyond
24 identification with community or region, there is the
25 identification with all parts of the Arctic which provide
26 suitable habitat for Eskimos.

27 In the perception of many
28 southerners, the Arctic environment is a barren one
29 in which no one in his right mind would remain, given
30 the choice. Are native people really clinging precariously

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 to a hard, unyielding land because there is no alternative?
2 Are they really waiting to be saved from their own
3 land? The Eskimo people are by no means unmindful of
4 suffering and hardship in the past. The shift to town
5 life is popularly interpreted as an expression by the
6 Eskimo people of their desire to get off the land. Yet
7 many people have deliberately chosen not to move to the
8 larger settlements or even to move away from the larger
9 settlements and virtually none have chosen to move
10 permanently to another geographical environment. There
11 is apparently a powerful commitment to the Arctic
12 environment and community as a homeland despite changing
13 ideas about how to live in it.

14 It is commonly observed that
15 people from so-called "depressed" areas migrate out of
16 them. It is noteworthy then that even after much
17 exposure to southern ways, the number of western Arctic
18 Eskimos who have gone outside and stayed there is very
19 small and no large scale emigration seem imminent.

20 There is good evidence that the
21 Eskimo of the western Arctic regard their environment
22 as rich and productive and indeed, compared to many
23 other parts of the Arctic, this is so. Some people
24 see proposed developments such as the pipeline as a
25 threat to prosperity even as the road to impoverishment.
26 The view that there is an abundance of game resources is
27 not restricted to older people. While few, if any,
28 think of the land as poor, all are aware that making a
29 living from it is hard work. Most would agree that a
30 good living can be made from the land but not an easy one.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 Unquestionably, the views about the role of the land
2 in individual and collective life are changing.

3 The land is perceived as good
4 for making a living not simply in absolute terms, but
5 also because that is the kind of living most people
6 know how to make the best and which involves the kind
7 of endeavor they value positively. The Arctic
8 environment is one which the Eskimo people understand
9 and in which they feel competent to live. By comparison
10 southern rural or urban environments are not familiar
11 and may give rise to feelings of insecurity and even
12 anxiety on the part of many Eskimos who visit these
13 environments. "You could starve to death down there in
14 the cities" is a typical modern viewpoint. It reflects
15 not only the Eskimo's sense of competence and security
16 on the land which is by comparison lacking in a place
17 like Edmonton, but also an awareness of differing and to
18 the Eskimo, unacceptable values and behavior with
19 regard to friendship and the provision and sharing of
20 such basic needs as food and shelter.

21 The land then is the basis
22 of a way of life which continues to be highly valued,
23 even if not always engaged in. Economically most
24 Eskimo families find it necessary to assume wage
25 employment. Nonetheless, many of these people express
26 the view that if they did not have to work for wages,
27 (Or alternatively, if trapping brought higher returns)
28 they would prefer to live on the land. "If I could
29 earn a living out there, that's where I'd rather be" is
30 a common enough sentiment amongst younger and older wage

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 earners alike. Thus, those who do not feel the land can
2 provide them with an adequate standard of living still
3 believe it offers a better way of life.

4 I have sought to demonstrate
5 the fundamental economic and cultural dependence of the
6 Eskimo people on the land and on the fur, fish and
7 game it produces. Now, what are the implications of
8 this for the future and how does it relate to the
9 question of employment?

10 First, I would like to comment
11 on some recent trends in the traditional sector. I
12 believe there is a tendency on the part of southerners,
13 including those responsible for northern policy making
14 to view trapping and hunting as primitive, perhaps even
15 distasteful activities with no place in a modern economy.
16 It is wrong, however, to suppose that hunting and trapping
17 in the western Arctic today is primitive, unsophisticated,
18 unproductive or unchanging.

19 The entire 20th century history
20 of the traditional sector in the western Arctic demonstra-
21 tes that the Eskimos have always been quick to adopt
22 both material and institutional changes in aid of
23 trapping and hunting. The trapping system for Arctic
24 fox on Banks Island, for example is the most modern and
25 productive in the world. Recent developments there and
26 elsewhere in the western Arctic suggest that native
27 people are readjusting to changing circumstances and
28 using technical innovations to improve their patterns
29 of resource harvesting.

30 The post-war economic crisis

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 created two major impediments to optimum resource
2 utilization. One was the rapid urbanization of the people.
3 The other was the declining availability of capital
4 inputs. The first had the effect of cutting people
5 off from much of their traditional hunting and trapping
6 territory for they could not reach all the areas by
7 dogteam that they had from the scattered camps.
8 Especially those who got any kind of wage employment,
9 had not enough time to travel great distances. It was
10 a common enough observation from the mid-'50's to the
11 mid-'60's that native people seemed to be over-harvesting
12 the areas 'close to the communities while the more
13 distant hinterlands went underutilized. There were
14 shortages of food as well as of fur and those years have
15 been referred to in previous community evidence as the
16 "time when the people nearly starved".

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

The second reduced the capability of people to hunt and trap no matter where they went. With increasing costs and declining resources, it was not simply that trapping became unprofitable but that people could not obtain sufficient capital to hunt and fish properly. As trapping income declined, and the availability of credit at the trading posts was sharply curtailed, welfare and casual employment became important sources of productive capital. Although little recognized by outsiders at the time, there is good reason to think that few native people saw welfare and casual labor as alternatives to living off the land, instead they were the only available supports to such living. If many chose welfare instead of wage labor, it was more likely because the former left more time for hunting than the latter, rather than because of laziness or a poorly developed work ethic. Under these circumstances, I think we must look back to the declining use of the land a decade or so ago as a result of the economic crisis in the fur trade, an involuntary, unwanted and demoralizing retreat rather than a preference for settlement living and steady employment. What is now evident is that in the last decade people of the Western Arctic have been able to overcome these impediments in large measure and readjust their hunting so that they could maintain the viability of the traditional sector. During that time many have come to realize that town life and wage labor could not be a substitute for their dependence on the land, hence they would

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There is no question that the traditional sector requires relatively high capital inputs. Indeed, this has been true for over 50 years. Periodic crises in the traditional sector can be attributed to temporary lacks of capital rather than to the non-viability of the sector itself. In this respect the traditional sector in the north may be compared to the agricultural sector in the south. Both require high capital inputs, and the return on investment may not always be as high as in other sectors. Nonetheless,

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1 productive factors, be they land, labor, or capital,
2 cannot continually be shifted away from the agricultural
3 sector with impunity. Any people which lets its agri-
4 cultural base decline on the grounds that other
5 endeavors are easier or more profitable is, in the
6 view of many, embarking on a perilous course. I believe
7 that native people are expressing a similar point of
8 view in their evident concern over the continued
9 viability of the traditional sector. Food production
10 must be a basic element in any society and economy.

11 The next section, I might men-
12 tion, is based on the first document relied on, mentioned
13 on the back page, on short-term wage employment.

14 If these are the realities
15 of the traditional sector, what are the implications
16 for wage employment and its costs and benefits? The
17 importance of the traditional sector has a strong bearing
18 on the way native people view employment. So has their
19 experience with employment.

20 In the Western Arctic, there have
21 been a series of minor employment booms in the last 20
22 years. The first and perhaps the most important came
23 with the construction of the DEW Line and Inuvik. Smaller
24 scale government construction and maintenance projects
25 have provided some employment since then, and more
26 recently the exploration industry has provided employment.
27 Virtually all this employment has been either seasonal or
28 short-term, or both. Relatively few permanent jobs
29 have been generated which native people have filled and
kept for many years.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
2 Dr. Usher.

3 A Yes.

4 Q Dr. Hobart felt that
5 the seasonality of employment was strength, a good
6 thing that enabled native people to do just what you're
7 describing -- obtain cash from wage employment to
8 outfit themselves for subsistence hunting. He felt
9 that short-term employment, though, was the kind of
10 employment that could lead to people leaving the land
11 and to various kinds of economic and social breakdown
12 in the communities.

13 A M-hm.

14 Q I only interpose that
15 so it's a thought that won't be forgotten when we
16 reach the end of these papers and cross-examination
17 begins.

18 A Right, I mention this a
19 bit later on, and I probably would find myself in
20 agreement with Dr. Hobart that in fact maybe seasonal
21 employment is a better option in some respects.

22 The chief effects of the first
23 wave of employment were the major population shifts and
24 the conflicts with living off the land already described.
25 When jobs disappeared, it was extraordinarily difficult
26 for most native people to get re-established on the land.
27 Now this was commonly attributed by outsiders to the
28 sort of "how do you keep them down on the farm after
29 they've seen Toronto" syndrome, but in fact it had more
30 to do with outside pressures toward urbanization and

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

the lack of capital for re-establishment. There has in the past been neither the means nor the tradition for individual saving and investment, nor has there been much inclination or incentive for it. Hence, income from wages was rarely put aside to enaid re-establishment. It was also the experience of many that they gained skills and experience which could not subsequently be utilized to much advantage in their home settlements. Some people have observed that there was a tendency for the best trappers and hunters, who were often accordingly leaders in their communities or camps, to assume wage positions more readily and successfully. These men either left their communities entirely for construction camps or larger settlements, or they became part of the select group within the community which obtained the few available full-time wage positions. There was thus a decapitation effect on some camps and small communities so that those remaining were less able to pursue their traditional activities effectively and less able to cope with social changes.

There are several important legacies of this experience, although I will refer only now/to those most closely related to the traditional sector. In my experience, the attitudes of large numbers of native people to wage employment have not changed significantly in recent years. Rarely do they have a lifetime commitment to wage employment, or to the associated attitudes toward saving, spending, and career planning implicit in this way of life. The

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1
2 economic history of the Western Arctic has been one
3 of boom and bust from the whaling and fur trade days
4 to the present. Little or nothing in the experience of
5 most native people has given them reason to share the
6 economic assumptions of most other Canadians. The ideas
7 of moving inevitably up a career ladder, of having one's
8 pay cheque increase by so many percent per year, of
9 getting a new couch this year and a color T.V. the
10 next, in short the assumptions of continuing an almost
11 uninterrupted economic progress toward plenty are not
12 current among native northerners.

13 Jobs, then, are a temporary
14 resource to be exploited towards specific ends. Many
15 native northerners seek and then leave jobs once they
16 have earned enough for some specific purpose. Jobs are
17 not valued for their own sake, but as temporary strat-
18 egies. Given that the white man's economy appears
19 to many native people as an erratic and unreliable
20 phenomenon, the land and its resources are by comparison
21 permanent. This attitude is prevalent even among those
22 native people who are permanently employed and who
23 prefer wage employment and town life to a more complete
24 dependence on the land. They are by no means convinced
25 that they will have (or want) steady wage work forever,
26 and hence see the land as insurance against the day when
27 employment may not be available. In their view, the white
28 man's economy has its ups and downs, jobs come and go,
29 but the land is always there.

30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 It is, as many have said to
2 this Inquiry, their bank. Apparently they do not want
3 this bank or their ability to use it disrupted. I believe
4 this is why many native people are of the view that
5 full time but short term employment, since it disrupts
6 the routine and capitalization of hunting, has in the
7 longer term a detrimental effect on their well being.

8 This was true for many when
9 the Dew Line in Inuvik were built and they fear it will
10 be the same with pipeline and related construction
11 now. I believe this situation points to a need for part
12 time, seasonal employment or full time, community based
13 employment, both of which are or could be compatible
14 with the basic reliance on the land.

15 The idea that the traditional
16 sector is dead and must therefore be replaced by full time
17 wage employment, away from the home community, if need be
18 and by career type employment which precludes effective
19 participation in the traditional sector, is, in my view,
20 without foundation. It is surely for this reason that
21 many native people have observed to me that employment which
22 does not allow them to hunt works hardship, not benefit,
23 on their families.

24 What I am suggesting is that it
25 is not a matter of employment or hunting, it is employment
26 and hunting so long as they are compatible because employ-
27 ment can provide the necessary cash inputs to successful
28 hunting and trapping. Employment also increases in most
29 instances, the standard of living which would be derived
30 from hunting and trapping alone.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

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2 This must be seen in the context
3 of the family, rather than the individual, in the sense
4 that the family is often a multi-enterprise unit, deriving
5 benefit from the different activities and opportunities
6 available to each member.

7 The southern model of wage
8 employment and the way of life it entails is incompatible
9 with the maintenance of the traditional sector. The
10 reliance of a whole region on one large scale enterprise
11 let alone the subordination of the entire regional economy
12 to that enterprise is also incompatible with the mainten-
13 ance of the traditional sector.

14 The traditional sector requires
15 flexibility. People must be able to take up and leave
16 different activities at different times of the year as
17 the need arises. As I understand it, this is the
18 antithesis of the modern industrial wage system.

19 This kind of mixed economy
20 which has characterized the western Arctic is not
21 very familiar to urban southerners. In my experience,
22 economists and policy makers generally feel uncomfortable
23 with the idea of it. They may see it as unspecialized,
24 inefficient and unproductive. Such economies, it is true,
25 have not historically generated much surplus, nor have
26 they produced a labour force easily adaptable to the large
27 scale industrial enterprise. They are not, however,
28 necessarily ineffective in providing for the needs of
29 those who participate in them. Our systems of measuring
30 economic performance in a modern industrial setting

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1
2 do not necessarily work in other ones. Because a man
3 does not draw wages 52 weeks of the year does not necessarily
4 mean he is unemployed or even underemployed and if he
5 produced things which he does not sell, they are not
6 for that reason, valueless.

7 Other economies can change and
8 modernize in their own way, just as industrial ones do.
9 I have used the term traditional economy in my evidence
10 only because it is based on the resources that people
11 have used for generations. It has no inherent qualities
12 which prevent it from evolving as a modern and productive
13 economy.

14 In place of the next few sentences
15 is the page 28 addition I've distributed.

16 The conventional wisdom is that
17 the land can no longer support the people. Rapid
18 population growth, the decline of traditional resources
19 and rising expectations being the three common reasons
20 given. In fact, there are fewer Inuit in the western
21 Arctic now than there were a century ago. In fact, there
22 is, at present, little evidence that native people are
23 overexploiting their resources, much that overall
24 yields could be increased. In fact, secondary processing
25 based on these resources could be expanded providing
26 employment and income for the people of the western
27 Arctic which is compatible with the continued reliance
28 on the traditional sector.

29 Further evidence in this regard
30 will be led in a later panel on alternative development.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 I am not suggesting that this
2 is the sole answer to economic development problems in
3 the western Arctic, but the evidence suggests that the
4 traditional economy is not a dying one and need not be.

5 I referred earlier to the problem
6 of capitalization in the traditional sector, to date, federal
7 and Territorial government efforts to overcome this problem
8 however well intentioned have been largely unsuccessful.

9 In my own experience in govern-
10 ment, I would say that the fascination with oil and gas
11 development led to the abandonment of any serious con-
12 sideration of other forms of economic development as
13 either alternative to oil and gas or in addition to it.

14 I believe a land claims settlement
15 could provide the most appropriate means, both financially
16 and institutionally of capitalizing the traditional
17 sector and of stimulating innovative development. This
18 would be a necessary step in achieving a balanced, healthy
19 economy in the western Arctic.

20 The provision of jobs, which
21 either take men away from their communities and hunting
22 grounds for long periods or which are of a type which
23 preclude effective participation, in the traditional
24 sector, will, in my view, not provide a net benefit to
25 the region as a whole, although there may indeed be
26 individuals who want such jobs.

27 The kind of skills and enterprises
28 which should be encouraged are those which allow people
29 to remain in their home settlements and build a viable
30 local economy. It is wrong to view the native communities

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 as impoverished, without potential and therefore in need
2 of industrial employment and hence it is wrong to encourage
3 the bulk of the population to shift into industrial
4 employment. I therefore believe that there should be
5 no special inducements for native people to assume
6 employment in the hydrocarbon industry or related construction.
7 A more promising approach might be the principle
8 of first refusal on all jobs. Jobs would thus be filled
9 by outsiders only in the event that no willing and
10 reasonably or readily qualified residents were available.

11 The principle of first refusal
12 will ensure opportunities to those native people who really
13 want employment during the construction phase, yet not
14 cause undue disruption by pushing those who are not so
15 anxious for this type of employment.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
17 Dr. Usher.

18 A Yes.

19 Q I'm terribly
20 sorry, but I've lost track of this and I don't want to
21 -- where are we now? Where are you reading from?

22 A Oh, I'm sorry, I should have
23 indicated where I went back to -- I read about two paragraphs
24 and then went back to the bottom of page 28.

25 Q You read two paragraphs on
26 page 28.

27 A And now I'm in the middle
28 of page 29. Starting at the third full paragraph, or the
29 third paragraph, "Such an approach".

30 Q I have in this first thing,

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 I have 27 and then a page unmarked and then 30.

2
3 A Oh, well then you must have
4 a copy that didn't get reproduced properly. Missing page
5 27.

6 Q Right.

7 A Sorry about that.

8 MR. BAYLY: So is mine, or I'd
9 give you mine.

10 A Sorry.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, thanks.

12 A Looking on page 29 now.

13 Q Yes. Sorry, let's just
14 see -- I had everything else and then when you began to
15 make specific proposals I wasn't given the paper.

16 A Okay.

17 Q Now we're at "Such an
18 approach"?

19 A Yes. Such an approach
20 does not exclude the possibility of combining some
21 compensatory hiring features with it. It is one thing
22 to ensure that those seeking employment are given every
23 opportunity to obtain it. It is quite another to deliber-
24 ately encourage a massive shift in the labour force to
25 suit the perceptions of outsiders.

26 With regard to recruitment and
27 training, some differentiation and effort should be made
28 between settlements. In a large town such as Inuvik,
29 there is a greater proportion of people already oriented
30 to wage labour and a greater need for jobs which are

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 practically the sole reason for native people being there
2 in any event. There is also in Inuvik, a greater need
3 for diversification and skills in the local labour force.
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Beakust, Usher, Brody
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25849

In the smaller, more traditional and land-based communities, people remain there at least in part, by choice and prefer that way of life. These are the communities most likely to suffer severe social disruption and "decapitation effects" from massive re-structuring efforts resulting in significant numbers assuming industrial wage employment. In these smaller communities, efforts should be geared to job creation based on local resource production. By encouraging differentiation of functions between small and large communities, a greater measure of choice is provided to native people in the ways of life they can follow. There seems little point in replicating Inuvik in every northern settlement.

I believe that any economic developments proposed for the sake of the people of the western Arctic must be based on the recognition that the traditional sector is both viable and essential and that the maintenance of that sector is a fundamental expression of their own preferences and aspirations. The Federal Government has stated that its highest national objective in the north is to provide economic development by methods which are compatible with northern residents' own preferences and aspirations. Any development which is not primarily for the sake of local residents would, one hopes, at the very least, not adversely effect the mainstay of their own economy. In considering the costs and benefits of a pipeline and related developments, I think there are certain minimum conditions which must be met in order to maintain the viability of the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 traditional sector.

2 First and perhaps most
3 obviously, the land and the animal resources it supports
4 must remain productive. The essence of native land
5 use for traditional purposes is that it involves use
6 without transformation. In my view, the policy of
7 multiple use which is in force for virtually all
8 northern lands is not necessarily appropriate to this
9 end. This -- I am adding a sentence here -- this
10 philosophy underlies the present system of land use
11 regulations and to the degree that these will govern
12 pipeline and related activity, they should be changed.

13 I also have sever doubts that it is possible to identify
14 so-called critical areas which alone are set aside
15 from industrial use and still expect the traditional re-
16 sources
16 /and their effective use to be viable 20 or 50 years
17 down the road. For the Eskimos, the land without the
18 animals is dead and useless. I do not see how the
19 traditional sector can be maintained without some
20 substantial native control, if not ownership, over all
21 lands or at least effective input to land us planning.

22 Second, the forms of economic
23 development which are devised for the benefit of native
24 people (as opposed to the benefit of some other group)
25 must be compatible with participation in the traditional
26 sector if not by every member of the community, then
27 by a substantial proportion. I have already suggested
28 the kinds of employment which are and are not compatible
29 with this participation.

30 Third, access to the traditional

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 resources must always be restricted to native people
2 except as they themselves may from time to time see
3 fit to offer outsiders some form of access.

4 The hunting rights brief of
5 the Inuit Tapirisat of Canada covers this problem in
6 more detail and I support its recommendations. Further,
7 where there may be large influxes of transient personnel,
8 there must be some restrictions on access to the land
9 by small boat, snowmobile and so on, as well as to
10 the resources themselves. Apart from the possibility
11 of environmental degradation through uncontrolled
12 access, there is also the likelihood of theft and
13 vandalism. For example, with hundreds of transients even
14 now having ready access to the Mackenzie Delta, no
15 hunter can leave his bush camp and gear secure in the
16 knowledge that it will be left undisturbed.

17 Fourth, I believe there must
18 be some reassessment of the goals of educational and
19 social policy as they relate to the traditional sector
20 and wage employment. There are many young people who
21 want to participate in the traditional sector, not
22 necessarily to the exclusion of other employment and
23 not necessarily as a lifetime career. The learning
24 of traditional skills and of the land itself must
25 therefore be integrated in a more productive way to the
26 education program and its importance properly recognized
27 by economic and social policy.

28 The problem is not that some
29 people will choose to be trappers and hunters and there-
30 fore should be trained for that and that rest need no

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 training. Nor should it be supposed that because
2 certain of the more specialized traditional skills are
3 dying out that the traditional sector is less viable.
4 Given modernization of the traditional sector, certain
5 skills are however admirable, no longer essential.
6 The young aspiring hunter need not be viewed as less
7 competent or less worthy of respect than his parents
8 on this account. Perhaps he is acquiring some new skills
9 which they never needed. To some extent, I am suggesting
10 that outsiders have a lot of myths and images about
11 hunting and trapping which are harmfully propagated and
12 should be changed. This is a difficult area in which to
13 make specific recommendations but I feel we should be
14 aware of it at least.

15 I am going to insert another
16 section on page 32 here. I would like to add a
17 comment on the matter of free choice and participating
18 in the traditional sector. Since the applicants as
19 well as the Federal and Territorial Governments
20 frequently proclaim their desire to broaden the range
21 of opportunities for native northerners and promote
22 free choice, I will argue in the next panel that this
23 is a collective as well as an individual matter.
24 For now, I would only point out that the implications
25 of that for continued participation in the traditional
26 economy, I think there is a critical point beyond which
27 the individual, whatever his personal values and aspira-
28 tions, can no longer opt to be a hunter and trapper in
29 the absence of a larger system of support.

30 For example, a generation ago

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 there were dozens of families scattered throughout the
2 Mackenzie Delta. No one lived more than a few miles
3 from their neighbors who could be reached in a short
4 time whether for emergency or just plain friendly
5 company. Travelling on the land, one would likely
6 meet other travellers and could rely on there being
7 several places to stop and visit. Today, the individual
8 is certainly free to decide to go and live in the delta
9 but he goes alone to a vast land with hardly any
10 permanent inhabitation. He cannot alone re-create
11 the social environment which made life in the delta
12 so rich in the memory of those who experience it.

13 Trapping and hunting is not
14 simply an occupation. It is a way of life and as such
15 is a collective, not an individual endeavor. I am
16 not suggesting that everybody wants to trap and hunt
17 or that they should. I am suggesting that the progressive
18 erosion of that way of life, the rewards it offers and
19 the ability to participate in it can reach a point where
20 it no longer makes sense to talk about free choice.
21 It is certainly possible that people can and indeed
22 already have readjusted their patterns of traditional
23 resource use to overcome the problems created by change.
24 But I think that takes some time and that too rapid
25 change can destroy the system before it can adjust.

26 In conclusion, I cannot over-
27 emphasize the importance of the traditional economy,
28 however it may change of itself and in relation to
29 other endeavors, to the maintenance of the Eskimo way
30 of life. As well, I beleive that sector can continue to

Reakbust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 make a viable and productive contribution to the
2 regional economy if the conditions I have suggested are
3 met.
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347
M835
Vol. 166

AUTHOR

Mackenzie Valley pipeline inquiry:

TITLE

July 20, 1976

DATE DUE

BORROWER'S NAME

347

M835

Vol. 166

CA1
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MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE INQUIRY

Government
Publications

IN THE MATTER OF APPLICATIONS BY EACH OF
(a) CANADIAN ARCTIC GAS PIPELINE LIMITED FOR A
RIGHT-OF-WAY THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS
CROWN LANDS WITHIN THE YUKON TERRITORY AND
THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES, and
(b) FOOTHILLS PIPE LINES LTD. FOR A RIGHT-OF-WAY
THAT MIGHT BE GRANTED ACROSS CROWN LANDS
WITHIN THE NORTHWEST TERRITORIES
FOR THE PURPOSE OF A PROPOSED MACKENZIE VALLEY PIPELINE
and

IN THE MATTER OF THE SOCIAL, ENVIRONMENTAL AND
ECONOMIC IMPACT REGIONALLY OF THE CONSTRUCTION,
OPERATION AND SUBSEQUENT ABANDONMENT OF THE ABOVE
PROPOSED PIPELINE

(Before the Honourable Mr. Justice Berger, Commissioner)

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 21, 1976.

PROCEEDINGS AT INQUIRY

Volume 167

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 Mr. Stephen T. Goudge,
 Mr. Alick Ryder, and
 Mr. Ian Roland, for Mackenzie Valley Pipeline
 Inquiry;

Mr. Pierre Genest, Q.C.,
 Mr. Jack Marshall,
 Mr. Darryl Carter, and
 Mr. J.T. Steeves, for Canadian Arctic Gas Pipe-
 line Limited;

Mr. Reginald Gibbs, Q.C.,
 Mr. Alan Hollingworth, and
 Mr. John W. Lutes, for Foothills Pipe Lines Ltd.;

Mr. Russell Anthony,
 Prof. Alastair Lucas and
 Mr. Garth Evans, for Canadian Arctic Resources
 Committee;

Mr. Glen W. Bell and
 Mr. Gerry Sutton, for Northwest Territories
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 Metis Association of the
 Northwest Territories;

Mr. John Bayly and
 Miss Lesley Lane, for Inuit Tapirisat of Canada,
 and The Committee for
 Original Peoples Entitle-
 ment;

Mr. Ron Veale and
 Mr. Allen Lueck, for The Council for the Yukon
 Indians;

Mr. Carson Templeton, for Environment Protection
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Mr. David H. Searle, Q.C.
 for Northwest Territories
 Chamber of Commerce;

Mr. Murray Sigler and for The Association of Municipi-
 Mr. David Reesor, palities;

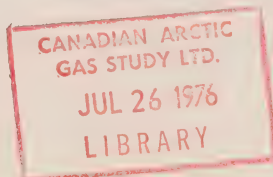
Mr. John Ballem, Q.C., for Producer Companies (Imperial,
 Shell & Gulf);

Mrs. Joanne MacQuarrie, for Mental Health Association
 of the Northwest Territor-
 ies.

(ii)

	<u>I N D E X</u>	<u>Page</u>
1		
2	WITNESSES FOR C.O.P.E.:	
3	Hugh BRODY	
	Grahame BEAKHUST	
4	Peter J. USHER	
	- In Chief (cont)	25855
5	- Cross-Examination by Mr. Bell	25958
	- Cross-Examination by Mr. Hollingworth	25968
6	- Cross-Examination by Mr. MacQuarrie	26009
7		
8		
9		
10		
11		
12		
13	EXHIBITS:	
14	677 Overview Evidence of H. Brody	25884
15	678 Overview Evidence of P.J. Usher	25884
16	679 Overview Evidence of G. Beakhust	25943
17		
18		
19		
20		
21		
22		
23		
24		
25		
26		
27		
28		
29		
30		

347
M835
Vol. 167



Brody, Beakhust, Usher 25855
In Chief

Yellowknife, N.W.T.

July 21, 1976.

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: Ladies and gentlemen, are we ready to go? I think that there are some additions, I understand, to the Usher papers?

MR. BAYLY: That's correct, sir, and not surprisingly, there are a couple of extra pages that have been distributed to the major participants this morning. Dr. Usher tells me that he's going to delete as much as he's added, so we'll try and hold him to that.

THE COMMISSIONER: No, I think we all amuse ourselves at Dr. Usher's expense, but I am most anxious to ensure that nothing is left out that you deem important.

MR. BAYLY: I wonder then if we could start with Dr. Usher sir, he has some preliminary remarks to introduce the panel and then we'll go to Mr. Brody.

HUGH BRODY,

GRAHAME BEAKHUST,

PETER J. USHER, resumed:

DIRECT EXAMINATION BY MR. BAYLY (CONTINUED):

WITNESS USHER: The purpose of this panel is to lead evidence about the nature and causes of social, cultural and political changes in the north during the 20th century. I will comment particularly on the course and nature of development in the Western Arctic. Brody will provide analogous evidence from the Eastern Arctic, as well as on the socio-psychological implications of same; and Beakhust will examine the nature and implications of national policy in the north,

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

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2 particularly as it affects political institutions and
3 decision-making. We arrive at a unity of themes from
4 three different perspectives and sets of experience.
5 Hence we view our evidence very much as a collective
6 whole. Our purpose is not so much to examine the behav-
7 iour and motivations of the native people who will be
8 affected by development, as to examine the dynamics of
9 the society which proposes these developments on the
10 frontier, and which by and large must be relied on to
11 heed the consequences of its actions, adopt corrective
12 measures accordingly, and implement them. We do not
13 believe that it is possible to assess the impact of
14 development or recommend corrective measures without
15 such an examination.

16 WITNESS BRODY:

17 There is an Eskimo word that
18 characterizes the feeling that whites inspire in Inuit.
19 That word (or root) is "ilira", and it is not easy to
20 translate. It is a kind of fear, a blend of awe and
21 intimidation. It is the feeling a strong and effective
22 father inspires in his children; it is the feeling you
23 have about a person whose behaviour you can neither
24 control nor predict, but who is perhaps going to be
25 dangerous; it is the feeling you have when you are in
26 a room full of important strangers whose language you
27 cannot understand; it is the feeling of a parent for
28 his adult or teenage child who has somehow got out of
29 control and refuses to support his elders; and it is the
30 feeling inspired by the trader, the missionary, and the
policeman, white strangers who were so obviously

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

powerful, upon whom Inuit were so acutely dependent and who told people what to do and believe but were not often disposed to listen to what Inuit wanted to do and believe. Indeed, Inuit express their surprise and pleasure when they have dealings with a white who does not make them feel "ilira".

In the course of two or more decades of dealings with whites, Inuit came to have expectations and attitudes strongly influenced by the ilira they felt. They did not expect to be able to state their own opinions and criticisms of what southerners were doing; they tended to accept the decisions of traders and missionaries, and to avoid all possible confrontation. There took place what might be called political retreatism, as well as the careful preservation of a cheerful and obedient countenance. Native people came to present themselves as conciliatory and accepting. This meant that they were inclined to smile and look cheerful whenever they had dealings with whites; it also meant that they did what they were asked to do, even when it was in reality something they thought wrong or foolish; and in the end it meant that they subordinated themselves to the changing whims of individuals no less than to shifts in prices or policies by which their lives were profoundly affected.

Retreatism of this kind is described by many Inuit who can recall the first introduction of schools. In some areas this was in the late 1950s, and in most areas followed directly on the trade

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

and mission period, and represented one of the first major governmental initiatives in the north. In a series of 43 discussions I had on this subject with parents who were asked to give permission for their children to go to a federal school in a settlement, but who were living at the time in camps away from the settlement, 32 said they wanted to say, "No" to the officials by whom they were approached. All but three, however, said, "Yes," and in many cases against their own very strong feelings and quite different judgment, agreed to leave children in school or move to a settlement to avoid being separated from their children.

This represents approximately a 90% acquiescence rate; when describing their reasons for acquiescing, 21 of the 29 parents used the word "ilira" to explain their behaviour, and 14 used the word "kappia" which means "danger". 18 talked of whites as "angajuqaat", bosses, and themselves as just not being able to do other than what they were told. Each person's description of the beginning of the education program involved some more or less explicit reference to their subordination to and dependence upon southerners.

When Inuits talk about subsequent events they indicate that these attitudes and their corresponding retreatism^{have} tended to persist, or in some cases even to be reinforced.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

During the 1950's and '60's, native people were taken to hospitals and prisons or presented with economic development projects in a way that they could scarcely understand and that in any case continued to make them feel that they must assent to outsider's wishes. This may have been a consequence of language and other cultural differences and it may well have occurred despite the best intentions of the white officials concerned. But these officials nonetheless reinforced the native attitude and response to southerners and southern purposes: acquiescence, already established as part of traditional Eskimo dealings with the dominant society simply continued.

Meetings with southern officials are often described and Inuit admit how reticent they are about saying what they think to whites. This reticence stems from a number of beliefs. These range from the sense that discussion is pointless because outsiders will neither listen nor understand anyway, to its being dangerous because the outsider, once he realises what local native people really think or want, will carry out reprisals.

In a series of 48 conversations about this matter, fear of reprisals was expressed by 16 Inuit and ranged from a fear that whites would go away altogether so that there would no longer be guns and other vital equipment to a fear that the army would sent in and everyone be killed. This Commission of Inquiry has succeeded in hearing many and full opinions, but it is recognized as truly remarkable perhaps unique, for just

Peabody, Usher, Brody
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1 that reason. The native voice has tended to be muted
2 if only because most native northerners have felt that
3 they had no right or did not dare to speak their minds.

4 In my work on white-Eskimo and
5 white-Indian relationships, I repeatedly discovered
6 these kinds of feelings about whites. In the eastern
7 Arctic they are widespread and were most widely
8 generated I suspect during the fur and mission period.
9 It is an appalling heritage from that time and casts
10 doubt upon the florescence or whatever excellence that
11 era is supposed to have contained. The archetype of the
12 Eskimo we find in some ethnographies and much folklore
13 may well itself be a product of the fur trade and mission
14 period. Certainly the few reliable accounts that do
15 exist of the aboriginal, pre-contact Inuit do not portray
16 a quiet and self-effacing personality type.

17 What took place then in the first
18 decades of contact between white and Inuit that gave rise
19 to this ilira? By the 1930's, after some 20 years of
20 comparatively persistent white presence in even the
21 remoter parts of the eastern Arctic, fear of whites had
22 become an integral part of what is now broadly held to
23 be traditional life.

24 The main events have been given
25 often enough but I wish to emphasize the nature of the
26 first great change: the displacement of aboriginal
27 culture by the first representatives of the south.
28 Apart from explorers and whalers, these first representa-
29 tives were persons intent upon changing the natives.
30 They were traders who wanted to turn subsistence hunters

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 into trappers and missionaries who wanted to replace
2 shamanistic religions with various forms of Christianity.
3 In both of these endeavors, the newcomers were remark-
4 ably successful. There are some consequences of this
5 success that deserve special mention.

6 In the first place, northern
7 natives became dependent on outsiders and by the early
8 part of this century, felt that they could not survive
9 without outsiders' provisions. This gave outsiders a
10 power that was quite out of proportion to their number.
11 Although there were many whites in the north at that time
12 who in fact needed the help of natives and were bound
13 to acquire local skills, they nonetheless controlled
14 northern society -- or were seen to do so. The authority
15 of traditional leadership was profoundly weakened and,
16 in places, simply destroyed. In many ways, native
17 society was decapitated.

18 The power and influence of
19 traders, missionaries and policemen was noticed by many
20 early observers of the northern scene. It is worth
21 remarking the opinions of Rasmussen, Stefansson and
22 Jenness -- perhaps the greatest travellers in the
23 Canadian north during the first decades of the 20th
24 century. All of them complained about the "tin pot
25 culture" of the trader (those are Rasmussen's words) and
26 the dangerous irrationalities as they saw them, of natives
27 who were drawn into the white's religious and economic
28 practices. Jenness wrote:

29 "The new barter economy -- furs in exchange for the
30 goods of civilization -- made life harder instead

Peakhust, Usher, Brody.
In Chief

1 of easier, more complicated instead of more simple.
2 The commercial world of the white man had caught
3 the Eskimo in its mesh, destroyed their self-
4 sufficiency and independence and made them economic-
5 ally its slaves."

6 Other commentators on the
7 Arctic noted similar phenomena for other regions. Helge
8 Kleivan, the Danish anthropologist and historian, wrote
9 of early relations between whites and Eskimos in Labrador
10 and referred to the "economic serfdom" that characterized
11 dealings between Eskimos and the Hudson's Bay Company.
12 A study commissioned by the old Department of the
13 Interior, published in 1927 referred to the situation
14 in the southern Hudson's Bay area where the relationship
15 between natives and traders:

16 "...would go far to break the spirit of the most
17 independent"

18 and where, in the judgment of the author, the people:

19 "...have become the servants of the post instead of
20 its patrons.

21 These writers offer a great
22 contrast to those historians of the north who see the
23 fur trade and mission era as one of "florescence" or
24 mutually agreeable contacts between aboriginal and
25 Euro-Canadian culture. There is, in northern anthropology
26 a strong tendency to see that relationship as accultura-
27 tion which is to imply the voluntary adoption of some
28 parts of another culture and to understate the extent
29 to which dependence and domination in fact determined
30 the nature of cultural change. To put the point baldly:

Beakhus, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 most northern social groups were changed according to the
2 wishes and ambitions of white outsiders rather than
3 by that gradual and selective process connoted by the
4 term "acculturation".
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
In Chief

1 Many obstacles were placed in
2 the way of any who might have preferred to retain their
3 own core religious and economic practices. Moreover,
4 they were placed there by individual whites whose power
5 in situ often amounted to that of life and death.
6 Traders could, and at times did, withhold credit from
7 hunters who were held to be unco-operative and no credit
8 could mean death. Policemen arrested what they called
9 wrong-doers and even sent them to jails in the south
10 from which they sometimes never returned. And behind this
11 local, individual power was that of the south as a whole,
12 the enormity of which was glimpsed occasionally, when
13 a ship arrived, a plane flew overhead, a law court with
14 a judge and jury was established on some remote beach.
15 The individual whites were powerful for what they did,
16 for the goods they dispensed and for all that they
17 represented.

18 These irresistible, life-
19 transforming powers established themselves during the
20 trade and mission era, between about 1915 and 1930. Their
21 enormous impact on the social psychology of native people
22 is still in evidence today.

23 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
24 Dr. Brody, when you say that and give us those dates, are
25 your remarks to be regarded as applying to the Mackenzie
26 Valley and the western Arctic?

27 A I used the spread of dates
28 in order to cover a very wide range. I think, insofar
29 as there are qualifications, Dr. Usher's paper will
30 indicate them.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

Q Right.

A Since he goes into those dates much more precisely, I think. I think it might be worth saying, in fact, that the dates are very conservative indeed. There were many trade posts established very much on the pattern of the Hudson's Bay company as from about 1902 or 3 and one of the inheritencies from the way this was a scattering of traders, free traders who established enormously powerful positions vis-a-vis local hunters.

Q Well, excuse me. I was under the impression that your main area of interest, certainly your experience was in the eastern Arctic and I just wanted to make sure that you felt that what you were saying here applied equally to the western Arctic and the Mackenzie Valley, that's --

A I can't say that -- I can only say that with a confidence that comes from knowing Dr. Usher and other peoples work and from the confidence of having read the transcripts I mentioned yesterday, which were collected all the way from the western Arctic to the east, which suggest the same theory.

Q Yes, fine, fine. Just so that I'm not assuming things that you're not assuming.

A Right, right.

The benefits to the fur trade period are usually expressed in terms of material culture and measurable economic prosperity. These seem considerable when contrasted with the relative simplicity and perhaps insecurity of aboriginal life. But the

criteria by which such benefits are usually measured are those of southern culture. Income and profits become measurable things only because of the imposition of that culture. Prior to native incorporation into a money or barter economy, standards of living were not amenable to the same kind of reckoning. Application of the new criteria therefore tend to be strongly self-justified. Persons engaged in trade can be said, by traders or others with a similar basis for judgement, to be "better off", but only because the native traders have adopted an economic system that secures better offness, of the kind southerners can appreciate and measure.

Of course, native people themselves feel that they ^{gained} materially from the fur trade. The material culture of the fur trade, did, in fact, become the basis of what is now regarded as traditional ^{case throughout the} life and that is the Canadian North. But it is in the nature of material benefits that it is hard to imagine what it is like to be without them once one has become dependent upon them. It is the dilemma of native people that increasing benefits raise greater and greater obstacles to the realization of aboriginal social and economic aspirations and the future becomes more and more difficult.

The quality of life to which the fur trade gave rise is now being compared with the present day quality of life and even with all that is feared about the future. It is not surprising then, that the fur trade, with its relatively effective use of land and some native skills, seems like a better time. It is

certainly regarded as the traditional way.

These views must not be allowed to obscure the social psychological realities, whether the views be expressed by white social scientists or apprehensive natives. The traditional way now includes a way of feeling and thinking about whites and the south, a way that is epitomized in the native use of the word ilira. These are all important clues to the kind of relationship that exists between natives and whites, between the north and the south.

To this must be added some brief comments on the essentially unstable nature of the trapping economy over which traders and missionaries presided.

The drastic fluctuations that occurred are illustrated by the white fox returns from Southhampton Island. Within eleven years the number of foxes taken in that area varied by a factor of 26. Fluctuations of this kind inevitably introduced a great degree of uncertainty into Inuit economic life, insofar as that economy was tied to trapping and traders.

It also gave a trader an immense amount of discretionary power, virtually every trapper would experience years of considerable relative hardship and would therefore from time to time, be in sore need of credit. Economic instability and the power of traders, thus reinforced one another. Inuits became dependent on an uncertain resource and on strange whites who dispensed essential goods. It is not hard to understand some part of the link between feelings of ilira and the fur trade period.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

It should be evident that the relationship between Inuit to whites during that period is not properly characterized by acculturationist models, or by suggestions of a florescence of native culture. If we are to understand the course of northern history and the sociology of native society, then it is vital to grasp the extent to which domination and control have formed the social, intellectual and moral quality of present-day native life.

The sociological implications of this domination are many, and include various forms of withdrawal and retreatism. These are well-documented phenomena and have distinct pathologies. Retreatism is the disposition of those who feel they have lost control over some aspects of their lives. The more aspects in question, the more extreme the retreatism. I pursue this whole matter in my evidence to the Commission on alcohol problems but for purposes of this overview I want to emphasize the links between the history of the north and the social-psychological matters that are of continuing relevance.

I say "continuing" because the kinds of change that have taken place since government and industry entered the northern scene, in many important respects, are of the same nature as those that occurred earlier. The colonial process by which native peoples are persuaded to adopt colonialism, economic, religious and ideological forms, has an obvious continuity. The institutions or individuals who represent the dominant

society may change, but the overall shape of change that the dominated themselves experience remains very much the same. This continuity can be seen as the process whereby people are separated from their own culture and resources. The shamanistic hunter is urged to be a Christian trader who participates in a market and the money economy; he is urged, then, to live in a two-bedroom house with a number, in a village or town; and to dress in the clothes and speak the language and adopt the social habits of the larger dominant society; and to have the schooling and do the kind of work characteristic of members of the other society. In the end, of course, the shamanistic, semi-nomadic hunter is a wage laborer with an address.

The trader, missionary, and policeman may begin the process; it is continued by government officials, teachers, and representatives of industrial corporations. Sociologists may argue among themselves about the extent to which the colonialized are pushed rather than pulled along this route, but the route itself is fairly clear. The suggestion that in the north the appearance of government and industry somehow began a totally new era is misleading, for it obscures the degree to which there has been continuity and understates the extent to which native identity is still based on the land and land-associated skills.

If continuity is not recognized, then policy-makers will be misled into supposing that northern natives no longer want the kinds of things they

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2 regard as traditional. As a result, relations between
3 those who make policies and those who feel them will
4 spiral downwards, bedevilled by misunderstanding and
5 ever stronger feelings among the administered of being
6 disregarded. I suspect that many persons in the north
7 and south have been astonished by the quality of native
8 statements at some of the community hearings arranged by
9 this Commission. This astonishment is, of course, a
10 measure of how we may have come to believe that some
11 radical change occurred between the fur and mission time
12 and the present. Armed with such a belief, we can be
13 led into expecting native Canadians to want the things
14 we want, or that we think they ought to want. We can
15 also easily be led into believing that the land and land-
16 based activities have lost most, if not all, of their
17 importance.

18 If, however, we focus carefully
19 on the continuity in native-white relations and native
20 aspirations since the early part of this century, I am
21 convinced that three significant gains will result.

22 (1) We will remain close to the social-psychological
23 realities of native peoples themselves;

24 (2) We will recognize the degree to which these reali-
25 ties are generally applicable throughout the relevant
26 cultures; and

27 (3) We will be in a much improved position for making
28 recommendations and predictions.

The government plus industry
phase of white presence in the north inherited native

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

attitudes to whites and to the south. The education, housing, local government, and other development programs of the present phase were introduced with the same rationale as the trader and missionaries had introduced their wants and wishes -- the native would be better off. And native peoples have accepted the programs even if they could not accept the rationale; they did what whites wanted them to do. And in so doing, the social-psychological impact of development persisted. There continued to be domination, dependence, and renewed demands on native cultural identity.

For the purposes of the argument here, it is worth looking more closely at the value of individual activity in the north, most particularly at some of the ways in which the north as a frontier exercises an influence on the kinds of impact that are occurring.

Redburn, Fisher, Brody
In Ohio

Frontiers attract the get rich-quickers at every level. They encourage, indeed, they depend upon the footloose work force, mobile capital and all their ideological concomitants. It is not any particular place that matters, but the profitability of an area in general. Attachments are to reward, not to place, people, or community. Individualism, uncertainty and instability are part and parcel of the social and moral qualities of the frontier. Frontierism exaggerates and worsens the processes whereby traditional social controls are broken down and aggressive, deviant, individuated and more pathological kinds of behavior become everyday features of life.

The frontier, both as a matter of economic fact and as part of a national spirit has always been important in North America and is especially important in Canada. It has its representatives throughout the country who if they do not themselves go to the bush, at least encourage or even idealize those who do. Native peoples who live at the frontier are encouraged to participate in frontierism and are urged to accept the attitudes and lifestyles that go along with frontier activities. These attitudes and lifestyles are radically different to those embedded in native tradition and a small, permanent community.

The community life of native peoples emphasizes sharing, collaboration, responsibility between generations and among the member households constituting an extended family. The native community has deep traditions and a profound sense of permanence.

Reakhus, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 The place is more important than mere economic incentive.
2 Despite half a century of gradual incorporation into
3 southern lifeways, native people of the Canadian north
4 have shown a remarkable reluctance to move south. It is,
5 in their terms preferable to be poor at home, in family
6 community and land that is familiar, whatever the supposed
7 material or social advancement that might come with
8 migration to the south. Yet the frontier, which is
9 often said to hold within its development, within its
10 advancement further and further north, great opportunities
11 for native people -- presents forms of economic and
12 social life that are directly antagonistic to those that
13 native peoples have shown they for the most part want to
14 have as their own.

15 It is in this way that the
16 frontier ethic is especially disruptive to native people.
17 The representatives who come most directly into every-
18 day contact with natives are migrant white workers and
19 petty entrepreneurs. These men live in the wake of
20 large industrial enterprises, following wherever high
21 wages or decent profits create attractive economic
22 possibilities. They are extrovert, free-wheeling types
23 whose own homes and families have been left behind,
24 forgotten. They are tied to no one and look out for
25 themselves. They are sociable, like to drink and
26 occupy a moral niche that is suspect sometimes even to
27 many southerners and is far indeed from that occupied by
28 natives who are trying to defend themselves, their
29 communities and their land against southern intrusions
30 that they believe could well undermine their natural and

1 social world.

2 The great contrast between the
3 whites who move towards the frontiers and the native
4 peoples who live there is evidenced by the way they
5 tend to regard one another. In the language of con-
6 temporary anthropology, the frontier is at the border
7 between nature and culture. Nature is the world beyond
8 the kingdom of western society (beyond, that is to say,
9 our own society) culture is what we have constructed.

10 A generation ago, that line was
11 regarded as the divide between the civilized and the
12 uncivilized. This line is deeply embedded in virtually
13 all our ideas about society and progress. We regard
14 the move from nature into culture, from beyond the
15 frontier to within it as progress. This applies to land
16 as well as to people. Economic progress is made when
17 nature is transformed into resources, while social progress
18 is made when the primitive are drawn into civilization.
19 Policy makers in the south and the migrant workers in the
20 north share this basic premise which leads them to a
21 particular view of native people and to particular
22 judgments about how they can be "helped".

23 According to this view, the
24 native person is at the very edge of, or just beyond,
25 the world of culture. Insofar as he is beyond the
26 frontier and stays outside the economy and society that
27 the frontier is seeking to advance, he remains a part of
28 nature -- in the familiar cliché, a child of nature.
29 Peoples in that condition do not know what is best for
30 them (they cannot understand progress) and can only

learn by acquiring religion, schooling, housing, money,
modern conveniences, jobs.

This picture of the native
beyond culture, beyond the frontier suggests that he
has no real religion, no effective schooling, no proper
houses, still less conveniences, money or jobs. As
these are supposed to be the very hallmarks of culture,
of civilization and as they are the indices by which we
measure progress, then if people do not have them and
do not get them, they cannot progress while any addition
to the amount they already have constitutes more progress.
Hence, development can bring much that is good, much
that represents our idea of progress.

Those who subscribe to such
views and often such views remain well concealed, are
in effect incapable of regarding native peoples as real
people. The natives themselves are quite sure that they
have and always have had all that was necessary for
culture. They see the loss of the overt forms of their
culture as the very opposite of progress. Older
Inuit often admit that they regard many of the whites'
ways as uncultured, as childlike.

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

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2 They are amazed by our quickness
3 to be angry, by our violence and apparent indifference to
4 one another's well-being, by our weak family ties, and
5 extravagant regard for money, and by our inability to
6 understand the rules governing use of and respect for
7 land. Yet they are aware of the great power that
8 whites have over everything that concerns the future
9 of the north, and as we have seen, they are dependent
10 on things that come from the south. They are also
11 persuaded that Christianity is a better religion than
12 shamanism -- than the shamanism it displaced, and
13 many have come to believe in the importance of fossil
14 fuels, modern housing, and some basic schooling. They
15 also feel the need for the whites' medical services.
16 The ambiguity of their position means that native peoples
17 have often felt unable to present their case and very
18 rarely able to oppose the way in which the frontier
19 mentality affects them.

20 When whites insist the best
21 thing for the Inuit is industrial advance, the Inuit
22 are inclined to agree. Since those who concern themselves
23 with the frontier have always encouraged native people
24 to be modern, Inuit do not think that whites are able to
25 offer the kinds of things that Inuit really care about.
26 As a result, when white officials ask what they, the
27 southerners can do to help, Inuit have tended to
28 answer by asking for the kinds of things that southerners
29 usually seem able to do -- provide more money, more
30 houses, more jobs. Few Inuit believe that any

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

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2 other things are possible. This means that whites
3 receive confirmation for their views of progress, and are
4 lured into believing that these views are shared by
5 Inuit. This, of course, applies to social-scientists
6 as well as to others. Infact, of course, we get self-
7 confirmation. We are told what Inuit think we want to
8 hear and what they think it is worth telling us. It
9 follows that relations between whites and natives at
10 the frontier are confounded by systematic misunderstanding.
11 It also follows that whites, especially those with
12 authority and local power, can only rarely discover what
13 Inuit do want. This means that even the most well-
14 meaning southerners and southern governments are likely
15 to make decisions about northern programs and development
16 that continue to aggravate problems that have persisted
17 in the north for 50 years.

18 Despite quite high levels of
19 federal spending on research into northern peoples, and
20 a long series of publications dealing with aspects of
21 northern native society and economy, remarkably few
22 documents deal specifically with native aspirations
23 and preferences. Despite close attention to aspects
24 of traditional culture, and the more intimate scrutiny
25 of native ways that natives have always found acceptable,
26 there exists no systematic account of what native adults
27 want by way of an economic or social order. Between
28 1971 and 1973, however, with the help of two field
29 assistants, I carried out under the auspices of the
30 Northern Science Research Group, over 150 non-directional

Brody, Beakhust, Usher
In Chief

1 interviews in communities of the Eastern Arctic with a
2 view to establishing how the white and native populations
3 regarded their own and the others' predicaments. The
4 interviews included persons of each main social and
5 generational group. What emerged from them, inter alia, was
6 a remarkably clear convergence of opinion around three
7 issues:

8 (1) Inuit of all ages identified themselves with their
9 lands, and regarded the ongoing use of land as central
10 to their identity.

11 (2) A majority of men wanted to spend an important part
12 of their time on the land engaged in hunting, fishing
13 and trapping. Among these men were those who had only
14 recently returned from education in Churchill or other
15 schools, and those who on the evidence of appearance
16 and material culture, would be regarded as most modernized
17 or acculturated.

18 (3) Virtually everyone, including the elderly, regarded
19 land use in quite modern terms. They considered a good
20 hunter as one who could make use of a snowmobile,
21 high-quality rifles, and other technological developments.

22 Out of these interviews emerged
23 a picture of Inuit of that region, and most importantly,
24 of their aspirations. They were, it transpired, prepared
25 to accept
26 the necessity of mines, oil exploration and other
27 features of the frontier; they were even prepared to
28 acquiesce quietly in the destruction of their land. Many
29 persons said that nothing mattered so long as the whites
30 did not decide to destroy the people. But all these

Deaknust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

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2 were not the things that the majority actually wanted.
3 Indeed, they were often the opposite. Most wanted a
4 way of life that maintained the possibility of extensive
5 hunting, extensive use of local renewable resources,
6 and real security. I was told again and again in a
7 multitude of different ways, that the preservation of
8 a life based on the use of local resources conflicted
9 strongly with the attainment of security, and that in
10 the end, security was the most important thing for it
11 meant life itself. It seemed that many Inuit had been
12 given to understand that the hunting and trapping life
13 was simply impossible, or could only be bought, in so
14 residual a form as to be hardly more than symbolic at
15 the price of ever more participation in and dependence
16 upon a life that, if my own researches are to be
17 trusted, they did not so much desire as accept. And if
18 you accept a thing as necessary, you are inclined to
19 say that you want it, or more logically, that you do not
20 want its absence.

21 In 1974-75, I worked on the
22 Inuit Land Use and Occupance Project. My final contri-
23 bution to that project was the land occupancy document.
24 which speaks to elucidate what it means to be an Eskimo
25 both in the past and in the present. To this end,
26 discussions were held in every Eskimo community in the
27 N.W.T. The final text of the document is edited from
28 over 800 pages of transcripts of these discussions,
29 and follows the themes that Inuit wished to pursue.
30 I would like to refer this Inquiry to that document for

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

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2 It confirmed my 1971-73 findings for one region are
3 perhaps true for the N.W.T. as a whole. It is that do-
4 cument that gives me the basis from which to offer
5 generalizations.

6 Given the kinds of irreversible
7 change that have already taken place and the ways in
8 which native persons have adopted aspects of Euro-
9 Canadian culture, it can perhaps best be said that
10 they now want the possibility of a mixed economic
11 system. In many respects, that is the kind of economy
12 that has evolved from the fur trade. Its weakness is
13 a result of the imbalance between the elements in the
14 mixture. The wage-labor component is becoming by far
15 the strongest and most compelling option, largely as a
16 result of the weakening of other options. This
17 weakening is a consequence of government policy, as
18 much as trends in the supply and demand for commodities
19 on international markets. If the kinds of things that
20 native people now want are taken seriously, then
21 such industrial development that does take place at the new
22 frontier will be carefully moderated. Only if it is thus
23 moderated can the pernicious effects of large-scale
24 rapid development be mitigated.
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What does this kind of moderation really mean in social and economic terms? A rudimentary shopping list that begins to answer that question must include the following items:

1. A mixed economic system, in which renewable resource harvesting plays a prominent part.
2. Development of non-renewable resource activities at a pace and in ways that allows native input and effective monitoring of how it will effect the local traditional resource base.
3. Avoidance of institutional reaffirmation of feelings and attitudes towards whites characterized by the term "ilira" and its equivalents. This means that all stages must be slow, and participation made real with the advantage of time and caution.
4. Clarification of the land right issue in order to provide security into the future. Apprehension about the future is a part of everyday social life in northern settlements and its aggravation is, from a social psychological point of view, highly dangerous.
5. Investment in the industrial frontier must be paralleled by investment in what we might call the native or traditional sector. In this way the tendency for a whole communities to be engulfed by even comparatively small-scale developments, and for manpower to be pushed en bloc into the non-renewable sector, can be mitigated.

There are, in effect, three possible courses the future could take. Development

Reakhus, Usher, Brody.

In Chief

1 without attention to local culture and renewable resources
2 with resultant maximum disruptions and eventual patho-
3 logical disarray of native life. In many ways, as this
4 overview has tried to show, the past 40 years of north
5 south relations have prepared the ground for such a
6 course and it would, unfortunately, represent continuity
7 in northern history if only because it would mean the
8 continuing domination of northern native society by
9 southern interests.

10 The second possibility is
11 development with careful attention to programmes and
12 land that would moderate and restrict impact. To this
13 end, we would have to try to solidify, in a culturally
14 acceptable way, in a safe way, the basis of native
15 society and economy.

16 The third alternative, no
17 development at all, requires the kinds of programme
18 that are suggested by the second alternative. Indeed,
19 it may happen that, after the initial preparatory phases of
20 a pipeline or similar project, some native communities
21 would be left effectively without development. This
22 was just what occurred in Rankin Inlet after the closure
23 of the mine there.

24 If the alternative way of life,
25 which at present is important to so many native persons'
26 idea of themselves and their communities security, be
27 properly developed, then the coming and going, the booming
28 and busting at the frontier could come and go or never
29 quite take place, without having such a dangerous and
30 destabilizing social and economic impact on native life.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
In Chief

1 If the eastern Arctic can
2 stand as an analogue to what may happen here in the west,
3 then we can be fairly sure that a significant number of
4 native persons will definitely want to take their place at
5 the frontier and be workers alongside those who came
6 as workers from the south. But we can be equally sure
7 that a majority of natives will want to preserve their
8 community life, native skills and land against the worst
9 kinds of possible impact. If there is a lesson from
10 white - native dealings on this continent, it is that
11 native aspirations have virtually never been taken
12 seriously and the consequences of that include problems
13 and suffering that bedevil future generations on both
14 sides. Colonialism deforms all who are party to it,
15 the colonialized and the colonialists alike. We
16 should not forget that the Canadian north is, from an
17 economic and social point of view, a case of internal
18 colonialism. Its history has taken that shape, and its
19 representatives in the north have already acted out the
20 opening scenes of a familiar tragedy.

21 It is very unfashionable for
22 social scientists to make confident predictions and it
23 is also somewhat de rigueur to avoid ponderous alarmism.
24 I would feel less than honest, however, if I were to
25 act in either of these matters as I am told I should.

26 My work has made me very alarmed.
27 A review of Canadian northern history confirmed that
28 sense of alarm, there are dangerous trends that have
29 persisted for more than a generation and on the basis
30 of work in a variety of communities, in places experiencing

1 different stages of the process, I will not shrink from
2 predictions. Some more precise predictions figure in
3 my next submission to this Inquiry, but a general one
4 must be made here.

5 If the north continues to be
6 affronted in the full sense, and the values of frontierism
7 dominate its progress with individualistic unmoderated
8 seizure and channeling of its ores and oils, then native
9 communities will be damaged possibly beyond repair.
10 The native northerner will not disappear in such a
11 situation, there will not take place a more or less
12 painful assimilation. On the contrary, the north will
13 become, like other frontiers within colonial settings,
14 the home of demoralized, confused and increasingly angry
15 people who believe that since whites first ever came to
16 their lands, they have been oppressed and weakened.

17 The social and economic impact
18 of unmoderated large scale development would, in retro-
19 spect, be seen to have made a very large contribution to
20 that condition.

21 An overview suggests an alarming
22 pattern to northern social and economic relations between
23 southerners and natives. If we fail to recognize this
24 pattern, we will be in no position to assess or moderate
25 the impact of further development. If we fail to effect
26 such moderation, the results for native peoples will be
27 appalling, and southern Canadians will have much to
28 answer for.
29
30

1 THE COMMISSIONER: How's the
2 time?

3 MR. BAYLY: It's 11:00, sir.
4 Do you want to break for coffee and then start with
5 Dr. Usher's presentation?

6 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, we--

7 MR. BAYLY: I think we could --

8 THE COMMISSIONER: I think we've
9 got time. Perhaps we could get into Dr. Usher's presenta-
10 tion before coffee, what do you think?

11 MR. BAYLY: Certainly. I'm in your
12 hands, sir. I think we can -- whenever we take our
13 break, get through both Dr. Usher's and Mr. Beakhust
14 before lunchtime.

15 THE COMMISSIONER: Which is
16 Dr. Usher's next one?

17 MR. BAYLY: It's called
18 "Overview Evidence".

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Panel two,
20 right? Perhaps we should take a little break now and
21 then we can perhaps break again after Dr. Usher's --
22 that will mean two breaks this morning, but, we deserve
23 it.

24 (OVERVIEW EVIDENCE OF H. BRODY MARKED EXHIBIT 677)

25 (OVERVIEW EVIDENCE OF P.J. USHER MARKED EXHIBIT 678)

26 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
27
28
29
30

Leahurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

THE COMMISSIONER: O.K. ladies and gentlemen. Let's take our seats and welcome Dr. Usher to the -- I'm ready for a two week break.

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner, before Dr. Usher begins, we will be submitting at some point before the end of the Inquiry, the hunting rights brief prepared by I.T.C. and the "Land Use and Occupancy Report" when it is published, referred to by Mr. Brody in his evidence. I can't say when either of those will be produced, but it will be as soon as we can get our hands on them.

WITNESS USHER: The purpose of my evidence today is to explain the historical forces which have made native people in the western Arctic dependent, why a pipeline and related developments can only deepen that dependence to an irreversible point, and to suggest the conditions under which that process can be stopped and perhaps reversed.

It is not my intention to recount historical details. Instead, I want to examine the changing external forces and the way in which they led to new patterns of economic and social relationships in the western Arctic; new historical stages similar to those already described in other evidence given before this Inquiry. At each stage of development, I want to examine the social groupings in the western Arctic, their alignment and inter-relationships, and their socio-economic interests. At each stage, I will examine the relationship between whites and natives at both the

Roakhurst, Usher, Prody
In Chief

1 individual and societal level. The key variable I want
2 to assess at each stage is dependency.

3 There are essentially two types
4 of models that social scientists use to explain the
5 processes of economic development and social change.
6 These are the acculturation or modernization model and
7 the metropolis-hinterland or colonial model. They are
8 not entirely opposite, but their emphasis and the nature
9 of the explanations they provide are different. Dr.
10 Hobart used an acculturation model in his overview
11 evidence on 21st of January and the 5th of July, 1976.

12 The basic feature of the accul-
13 turation model is that it describes and analyzes the
14 process of culture contact at the locus of contact. It
15 does not attempt to explain why and how that contact
16 occurred in the first place, why it takes a particular
17 form and what external forces affect it. It examines
18 change but does not generally examine dependency and its
19 root causes. We know, however, that the fundamental
20 forces affecting native life for the last century have
21 been external and that native people have had little or
22 no control over them. I think it is also a fundamental
23 feature of native society that it has become increasingly
24 dependent on the metropolitan society of southern Canada
25 and elsewhere. The acculturation model is therefore
26 inadequate for the purposes of this Inquiry because it
27 does not take into account the sources and forces of
28 change.

29 I might add that I am in general
agreement with both the definition and critique of the

ReaHust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 acculturation model given to this Inquiry by Asch and
2 Rushforth on the 8th of July, 1976.

3 I will use in its place a
4 metropolis-hinterland model of development which Dr.
5 Hobart himself suggested:

6 "...is more oriented toward explaining the causes
7 of the kinds of acculturative influences that
8 become established in an area."

9 That's page 17189 of the transcript. The history of
10 the western Arctic is the history of its gradual incor-
11 poration into the fabric of the Canadian metropolis and
12 we can neither understand that history nor offer recommen-
13 dations for the future without understanding the objec-
14 tives of the metropolis.

15 I must stress that to use a
16 model does not mean, as I fear Dr. Hobart suggested in
17 January, that one is forcing a preconception on to one's
18 research. I think it is inarguable that the social
19 scientist, like any other scientist, must have some
20 hypothesis or theory to provide a basis for selecting
21 what information he gathers and for organizing his ob-
22 servations. These are not random processes.

23 There is of course, a complex
24 interplay between theory and empirical observation and
25 the role of bias and personal values in the social
26 sciences is a subject of continuing debate. I was
27 trained like most other graduate students in the social
28 sciences in the early '60's to analyze change according
29 to the acculturation or modernization model. In the
30 intervening decade, I have found that less and less

Beakbust, Usher, Brady
In Chief

1 satisfactory to explain what I have observed in the north
2 and so have turned to the metropolis-hinterland model.
3 I do not think this can be interpreted as imposing a
4 theory on the facts. I must also take issue with Dr.
5 Hobrat's suggestion that the Honigmanns' research,
6 along with other sources of similar vintage he cited more
7 recently which were done a decade ago, are somehow
8 a superior source of information because it is uncon-
9 taminated by current concerns. All social science is
10 contaminated if we must use that word, by some sort of
11 bias and set of assumptions. Theirs were those of many
12 social scientists of the day, that modernization of
13 small societies was inevitable if not indeed desirable
14 and that the task of social scientists was, if anything,
15 to find the most painless course for their assimilation
16 by larger ones.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

I have an insert here at this paragraph.

The difference in perspective between current and earlier research, which has been brought to your attention, is a result of three processes, it seems to me. One is that native people have had some time to evaluate and respond to the situation in which 15 years ago they had only recently found themselves.

Second, those social scientists who have maintained their research interests in this area have also been able to assess both the forces affecting native people and their response to them. It is quite evident that many of us were either wrong 10 or 15 years ago, or that we failed to appreciate the full dimensions of the problem, as well as the full range of options.

Third, in a more general way, as I have already suggested, new ideas and precepts are current in the social sciences of which few were aware 15 years ago, just as this is so in society at large. This does not render the work of a decade ago valueless. It simply means it has to be viewed in historical perspective. All this is a very natural process, and to suggest that it represents contamination or influence by the pipeline issue is simply preposterous. I would not ordinarily belabor such a point, but I was so astounded by the latter part of Dr. Hobart's evidence that I thought some comment was necessary for the record of this Inquiry.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1
2 There is, however, one key
3 element which may perhaps be called a value judgment,
4 underlying what I will say today. That is that the
5 dependency which is very clearly one-sided and unequal
6 is not a socially healthy or desirable state of affairs
7 and that developments or changes whose impact is to
8 increase dependency are, whatever else their effects,
9 undesirable on that account.

10 I refer not only to personal
11 independence, but to the independence of the social
12 group as well. That is political and economic autonomy
13 sufficient to permit substantial control by the group
14 over its own affairs.

15 As for personal autonomy, I
16 believe this should properly include not only a considera-
17 tion of whether one has enough disposable income to
18 have choice as a consumer, but also the degree to which
19 one can enter social and economic relationships volun-
20 tarily. There is one other consideration which I wish
21 to mention at the outset regarding the measurement of
22 cultural change. The acculturation model tends to
23 concentrate on the external features of culture --
24 peoples' dress, occupation, technology, housing and
25 so on. It is also important, however, to examine peoples'
26 values, the core of beliefs and social rules that make
27 up their world view, the screen through which they inter-
28 pret information and perception.

29 The evidence already given before
30 this Inquiry indicates that the Eskimo's value system

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 is rooted in their land-based way of life. The longer
2 I have worked here in the north, the more impressed I
3 have become that many features of the traditional
4 value system have persisted, that the core values of
5 the Eskimo people are deeply rooted and strongly
6 influence their feelings and behaviour. I think this is
7 very significant because it leads us to different con-
8 clusions about cultural change than if we observe only
9 behaviour and material culture. It means that the
10 historical stages of development I will describe have
11 represented progressively more arduous circumstances
12 for the Eskimo people to maintain and effect their
13 values. At each stage, the obstacles become greater
14 and cultural maintenance more difficult, but apparently
15 no less desirable. The problem is not simply one of
16 establishing a new cultural identity through adaptation
17 to new circumstances, it is one of the maintenance of
18 cultural identity and the maintenance of the social
19 cohesion and viability of the group. Such concepts
20 are often difficult for southern Canadians to grasp
21 because they are at odds with our own predominant
22 values of individualism, materialism and progress.

23 I'm going to add another
24 paragraph at the bottom of this page.

25 I would like at this point to
26 clarify any misconceptions that may linger from recent
27 discussions about continuity and change in native values
28 and institutions. Whether any particular native
29 institution exists as it did 100 years ago, or indeed is
30 viable in the sense of operating smoothly and purposefully

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 at the present time is entirely beside the point.
2 Institutions are a tangible expression of values. The
3 greater the obstacles to freely implementing one's
4 values, the smaller the likelihood that the resulting
5 institutions will reflect these values and function
6 effectively. This is a comment on the nature and
7 strength of the external forces, not on the inherent
8 viability of the institutions.

9 I believe that if native
10 society is relieved of these overwhelming forces,
11 that is, has reasonable freedom to work out its own
12 destiny, then its values will find expression in
13 institutions that are viable and purposeful. They
14 will no doubt continue to change over time, as one
15 would most certainly not expect any institution in
16 any society to persist frozen in form for any length
17 of time.

1 As I have already dealt with
2 the development and role of the traditional economy at
3 length, I will omit detailed discussion of same now.

4 Initial contact by explorers
5 and fur traders with the Eskimos was made in the western
6 Arctic over a hundred years ago. The first -- yes?

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Forgive me.
8 That was the bottom of page three, now --

9 A We start at the top of
10 page four.

11 Q Page four, I have no page
12 four.

13 A Oh, heavens.

14 Q Well, suppose I just tear
15 this out, is that all right, and then you've got
16 yours back. Just ignore Mr. Scott.

17 A As I generally do.

18 THE COMMISSIONER:

19 Q All right, "as I have already
20 dealt with etc." all right? Okay.

21 A As I have already dealt
22 with the development role of the traditional economy
23 at length, I will omit detailed discussion of same now.

24 Initial contact by explorers
25 and fur traders with Eskimos was made in the western
26 Arctic over one hundred years ago. The first significant
27 impacts came during the whaling era, lasting from about
28 1890 to 1906. By the end of it, the Eskimos had also
29 felt the impacts of the missionaries and the police.

Dramatic as these changes were,

1 one can speculate today that had the whalers simply left
2 the country and not been replaced by other outsiders,
3 that the Eskimos could have reverted to their traditional
4 means of livelihood and survival. This readjustment
5 would have undoubtedly have involved hardship, but
6 Eskimo society was probably not at that time so thoroughly
7 dependent on the south that it could not have survived
8 on it's own.

9
10 In fact, however, the whaling
11 era lead quickly to a way of life at once different, yet
12 similar to that of aboriginal times. This new way of
13 life, based on trapping and hunting, lasted from the time
14 of the first world war until about 20 years ago. It is
15 important to understand something of this way of life
16 because most of today adults in the western Arctic were
17 raised in it and remember it. When Eskimo people today
18 speak of the traditional life, they do not refer to an
19 unremembered aboriginal past, but to the fur trade era
20 which, despite its economic fluctuations, remained largely
21 stable in broad outline for 40 years.

22 Trapping was an individualistic
23 enterprise, operated at the family level. For the trapper,
24 strength, agility and skill on the ice and on the tundra
25 were still the essentials of life, just as they were
26 in earlier days, though modified in their specifics.
27 Intimate knowledge of the land and the animals lost none
28 of its importance. For women, the traditional skills
29 also remained essential, for example, sewing and the
30 making of clothes, even though styles and materials

1 gradually changed. At the same time, family life and
2 kinship ties remained highly important and indeed were
3 the basis of social life and organization. Native people
4 were also religious and the church, the missionaries and
5 the bibles played a strong role in the life and conscious-
6 ness of the people.
7

8 Life on the land, knowledge of
9 the environment, dependence on traditional skills,
10 reliance on the family and religion, these were the
11 traditional values in the western Arctic during the
12 first half of the 20th century. These were the essence
13 of what was and in many ways, still is, seen to be the
14 real native way of life, the basis of what it is to be
15 a real Eskimo.

16 This traditional life was a
17 hard one but not a poor one. At the best of times, good
18 trappers had far higher incomes than the average southern
19 Canadian. The fur trade economy permitted a significant
20 increase in regional output and wealth, although the
21 dramatic increase in both the production of surplus and
22 the return on it, far higher than elsewhere in the
23 Arctic, must be balanced against the shortage of some
24 country foods which was the legacy of overhunting during
25 the whaling era.

26 People remained relatively
27 independent and the north seemed to run by its own rules,
28 the old rules that everyone understood without having
29 to talk about them, people knew what to expect and what
30 was expected of them, even if those expectations involved

1 on some occasions, the element of fear discussed by
2 Brody.

3 Hard times seemed due more to
4 bad luck or because nature was not always generous, than
5 to a lot of outside people bringing in a new set of
6 rules and getting most of the benefits themselves.

7 In reality, of course, there were
8 new rules, and outsiders were benefitting from the labour
9 of local people, but those rules and that situation only
10 applied in the settlements like Aklavik, to which most
11 native people went only a few weeks of the year. The
12 rest of the time they were on the land, alone and away
13 from outsiders.

14 Despite many obvious material
15 changes during these four decades, the basis of economic
16 social and political relations remained essentially the
17 same throughout. The new economy allows people to stay
18 on the land and live by their traditional skills and
19 values yet render that life easier and more secure.

20 The period was one of essential
21 stability and for that reason, also it came to be
22 viewed as traditional.
23
24
25
26
27
28
29

Beakbust, Ushoj, Brody
In Chief

The most fundamental difference between the fur trade years and the times before the white man came was that native people were made dependent on the white man. This was chiefly an economic dependence in that the means of production, that is, the tools by which people made their living, came to be largely imported. Native people also became dependent on certain articles of imported clothing and food as well as on household implements. Later, they came to depend on outsiders for medical aid and religious guidance.

In certain ways, outsiders venturing into the north were utterly dependent on native people. They needed native clothing, native hunters and native guides to survive in the country. The fur trade, which was the chief economic inducement to outsiders, was largely reliant on native labor and skills for the production of furs. Yet the two peoples were not truly and equally interdependent. In individual relationships, many were, at least in terms of economic and survival needs if not mutual respect for each other's culture and personality.

In a collective sense however, whites and natives were most certainly not co-equal. It was after all, the white man who came north, not the native who went south. It was the white man who set the terms of trade and sought to impose his religious and civic convictions upon the native, not the other way around. The individual white man, dependent on the native as he was in the north, could always return south, thus making his dependency both voluntary and temporary.

Breakfast, Usher, Brody In Chief

Native people on the other hand, became dependent in their own homeland, their society and economy so transformed that although seemingly independent as individuals, they had become highly dependent as a people.

It was certainly evident that the outsiders, though few in number, wielded great power. Except in the delta, the white population consisted primarily of fur traders, missionaries and policemen acting as agents of commerce, church and state. They controlled access to trade goods, they were more powerful than the shamans. The white man was at once welcomed for the benefits he brought and feared for the power he possessed.

This was the first stage of incorporation of the western Arctic into the world economy and the national state. Though many of the individual representatives of commerce, church and state sincerely cared for the native people and sought only their well-being (as they perceived it), there can be no question that the institutions they represented deliberately sought this control and incorporation, regardless of the cost to native society. Indeed it was assumed apparently either that native society did not exist or that it was not worthy of preservation and that it would be far better if native individuals were incorporated into the larger society. The fur trade period was crucial in that by deliberate policy it rendered native northerners dependent on a capitalist, market economy over which they had no control.

So long as fur prices were high,

Peakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 times were good and the benefits of dependence appeared
2 to outweigh the disadvantages. Following the Second
3 World War, however, several events combined to bring
4 about a crisis in the fur trade economy as I described
5 in yesterday's evidence.

6
7 When the fur trade
8 collapsed, the people could not go back to their aborigin-
9 al ways because they had lost the skills to live without
10 rifles, matches and fishnets, because they could not give
11 up their taste for certain imported goods and foods,
12 and because in many areas the game was no longer there
13 in such abundance as had once been the case. In this
14 situation, the collapse left the Eskimo people without
15 adequate food, shelter and clothing and also in poor
16 health. In the Mackenzie Delta, a brief upturn in both
17 muskrat prices and abundance carried the people comfort-
18 ably into the early 1950's but on the coast, there was
19 deep crisis at mid-century. The golden years of the fur
20 trade were gone. New forces were already in motion which
21 would bring far more profound changes to northern society
22 than had the first stage of incorporation.

23 Between 1945 and '55, metro-
24 politan assessment of the north changed in two important
25 respects. First, there was a recognition of its
26 strategic importance in the late stages of the Second
27 World War and particularly with the onset of the Cold
28 War. Second, the collapse of the fur trade was accompan-
29 ied by an increasing awareness on the part of southern
30 Canadians that there were fellow citizens in the north
31 suffering from economic want and who also lacked the

Reakhusht, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 facilities and opportunities enjoyed by most Canadians.
2 The postwar reaction in the metropolitan countries to
3 traditional colonialism, along with a growing ethic
4 of "equality of opportunity" demanded changes in the
5 far north. The Federal Government could no longer maintain
6 a laissez faire approach to the north on the grounds that
7 its inhabitants were self-sufficient and happy with their
8 lot. In effect, the free market economy had suddenly
9 failed native northerners and the Federal Government, in
10 the context of the dawning welfare state, had no option
11 but to fill the breach.

12 Thus began a second phase of
13 incorporation which was marked by significant government
14 intervention in northern life. This was initiated by
15 the extension of family allowances and old age pensions to
16 native northerners and was followed by the construction
17 of federal schools and nursing stations. It led ultimately
18 to a peculiar form of government totalitarianism in which
19 virtually no facet of native life was permitted to remain
20 uninfluenced by the state.

21 Briefly, the Federal Government
22 concluded that the traditional way of life was dead and
23 that the only avenue for native people was to adopt the
24 white man's ways. The short run solution to the northern
25 crisis was the provision of health and welfare measures.
26 The long run solution was to educate native people and
27 give them jobs, for only in this way could they be
28 prepared for the industrialization of the north which
29 surely lay ahead.

30 The consequences of these

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 changes particularly the provision of health, education
2 and social assistance benefits were profound. The two
3 most important were a shift in population from the camps
4 to the settlements and a massive assault on native
5 culture and institutions, both of which made living on
6 the land more difficult. Whereas previously it had been
7 in the interests of the fur trade for native people
8 to live on the land and away from the settlements, it
9 was now in the interest of the government for them to
10 move off the land and into the settlements.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

I'll skip about the next page and a half because I think you really know all of this by now. It merely describes how the government programs of the '50s and '60s forced native people out of their traditional livelihoods into welfare and menial labor, and deepened their dependence.

I'll go onto the middle of page 10.

The government moved in a short time from a tight-fisted laissez-faire policy to one of massive intervention at enormous costs. From investment in health and educational facilities, the government has since proceeded to even more massive investments in municipal services and housing. The government rental housing program has been an important means of increasing the dependent status of native people. How it has done so has been documented extensively by at least three social scientists, all of whom were in the employ of the Federal Government when they did their studies. Briefly, it has changed the status of virtually every native person from homeowner to tenant, causing them to live in houses which they neither designed nor built. It may be noted that the transient employees of government and other large organizations also live in subsidized housing, which subsidy is generally greater on an individual basis than that received by native people. Nonetheless, it is the native people who have been made to feel dependent in this regard.

Also leading to increased

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

dependence has been the widespread provision of electricity and the resulting large-scale importation of electrical appliances. Three important ones are the forced air furnace, the refrigerator, and the television. None of these can be repaired without specialized knowledge and equipment. Thus for the first time native people are the owners or renters of essential goods which they cannot repair themselves and which are also very expensive to replace.

These two events, along with the provision of such municipal services as roads, water delivery and sewage pickup, have radically altered the mode of town living for native people. A decade ago, the difference between living in town and in the bush was primarily one of location; ready access to such services as stores, schools and nursing stations. The standard of individual native housing and services in town was little or no different from the bush.

These standards have since improved, and appear to have led to a significant improvement in health and sanitation. Parenthetically, however, the difference in quality between native and white housing and services has increased, thus accentuating the socio-economic distinctions between them. More important for our consideration is that the daily life of every native person is now deeply affected by material surroundings not of his own making, nor under his own control. Yet life has been made easier, if not more pleasant, by housing, services and enter-

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 tainment. Hence native people have just enough to
2 lose and are sufficiently dependent on these benefits
3 that they are naturally susceptible to the notion
4 that they must now give something in return. Others
5 have pointed out that the government subsidized benefits
6 of the last decade or so do not fit into any familiar
7 exchange program for native people. They have been
8 given something without any clear suggestion of what
9 obligations they have in return. All this capital
10 investment has led to new systems of regional and
11 local government. In particular, each community now
12 has several councils, associations and committees,
13 often with unclear responsibilities and with powers
14 often more apparent than real. Other witnesses before
15 this Inquiry have suggested that these institutions
16 have not assisted native people toward a greater
17 independence.

18 Certainly this second phase
19 of incorporation may be attributed to humanitarian
20 motives. But this humanitarianism was expressed and
21 implemented in terms of the ideology and imperatives
22 of the modern industrial state. These imply uniformity
23 of benefits and opportunities to all Canadians, and the
24 uniform implementation of representative democratic
25 institutions in a modern industrial wage system,
26 regardless of region, tradition, culture, local
27 preference, or suitability. The benefits of health,
28 leisure and amenities are denied by few native
29 northerners, but the system of providing these and the
30 costs in terms of the degradation of indigenous social

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 and political traditions are questioned by many. In
2 retrospect, it is evident that whatever the benefits
3 and whatever the benevolent motives, they were imposed
4 on the terms dictated by metropolitan institutions.
5 Northern needs in health, education, shelter and
6 welfare were identified by the government and responded
7 to by the government. Programs were conceived and
8 implemented in response to the sensibilities of
9 southern public servants. And the instances in
10 which the bureaucratic system and structures were
11 unable to bend in response to obvious local exigencies
12 are legion. Because few thought to find out how native
13 people really lived or what they wanted, much less to
14 heed what native people said, many government programs
15 were conceived and implemented in error.

16 One legacy of this second phase
17 of incorporation (which is not entirely over but has been
18 superceded by a third phase in recent years), was an
19 economy divided on both a sectoral and a class basis,
20 as well as individual impoverishment despite massive
21 capital investment. I have already discussed the
22 second problem in previous evidence, so will concentrate
23 here on the first.

What came into existence during the second phase and earlier in some other parts of the N.W.T. was a dual economy. The dual economy was typical of many hinterland areas within the orbit of metropolitan countries or regions.

Two economies exist side by side in the hinterland. In the Canadian north, the modern or industrial sector consists of a few large, single purpose enterprises which are capital intensive, employ sophisticated technology and imported skilled labour and whose economic and transport links are directly and exclusively with metropolitan Canada.

The traditional sector is characterized by many small scale enterprises, generally at the family level, but which are multi-purpose in the sense that they rely on the exploitation of various resources and opportunities in combination. This native economy employs local labour, traditional or at least small scale technology and its links with metropolitan Canada are dependent on intermediary organizations representing metropolitan interests. Both of these economies are dependent on the metropolis and indeed are a function of it, yet there are few or no linkages between them in the hinterland, in terms of cash or commodity flow, transport links, labour or technology. Modern industrial enterprises exist as isolated enclaves surrounded by traditional economic activity, but unconnected to it. Hence, the industrial sector may prosper and grow quite without beneficial effect on the other.

Indeed, some social scientists

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 argue that growth in this sector necessarily entails
2 the degradation of the traditional economy. In certain
3 cases, more typical of densely populated, underdeveloped
4 regions in the Third World, the key link between the
5 two economies in this type of situation is labour
6 mobility. The degradation of the traditional sector
7 forces people out of it and provides a pool of cheap,
8 surplus labour for the developed sector. In the Canadian
9 north, this has not previously been the case. The opera-
10 tions of the industrial sector here usually require a
11 relatively small labour input with very particular skills
12 and motivations.

13
14 Rarely do native northerners
15 have these, however skilled they may be in other respects,
16 hence, there has been virtually no intersectoral labour
17 mobility. Few native people have been employed in mining
18 or oil developments in the past. The point of contact
19 between the native and white economies in the last
20 decade or so, has chiefly been in administrative centers
21 such as Inuvik, where a relatively small proportion of
22 native people have been incorporated into the lowest
23 levels of the occupational and wage structure, often
24 on a casual basis. These people, nonetheless, maintain
25 their links with the traditional economy by virtue of
26 part time hunting and trapping which provided major
27 contributions to the household economy. In recent years
28 however, the high degree of separation between the two
29 economies has decreased, as I will explain later.

30 Regarding the other division of

1 the economy, there has clearly arisen an ethnic based
2 class structure in recent years. It is most evident in
3 Inuvik as was documented by Wolforth some years ago.
4 Native people are recruited into the wage system at the
5 lowest levels and there is no sound sociological evidence
6 from either north or south which suggests that any
7 significant proportion of individuals so recruited will
8 change their class position through continued employment,
9 training or experience.

10 I should, perhaps, add, with
11 regard to the term "class", that although social scientists
12 can argue endlessly over its meaning and use, in native
13 peoples perception, it means very simply, whether you
14 have a boss or you are on.

15 The dependency of native people
16 on outsiders increased dramatically as a result of the
17 second phase. I've already alluded to this in connection
18 with government programmes. Further, money and technology
19 had made it possible for outsiders to bring the south
20 with them for the first time, hence, they were no longer
21 dependent on the skills and generosity of native people
22 for their physical survival. With big houses, unlimited
23 supplies of fuel and electricity, radios to order things
24 from outside and airplanes to bring them in, all the
25 white people working for the government could not only
26 survive perfectly well, they could actually live much
27 better than native people and apparently with no more
28 physical effort or skill than pushing paper around a
29 desk all day.

30 Still, they were dependent on

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 native people for their jobs. Administrators, develop-
2 ment officers, teachers and nurses were there, supposedly
3 to help native people. If there were no native people
4 in the north, there would have been no need for them
5 either.
6

7 Although economic and political
8 dominance passed from the old triumvirate of fur traders,
9 police and missionaries to the new administrative elite, I
10 think it is incorrect to suppose that the basic objectives
11 and purposes of the dominant group changed. Dr. Hobart
12 has suggested that the traders had a vested interest in
13 native success while the government had a vested interest
14 in native failure. I would argue that both had an
15 equal interest in maintaining their hegemony over native
16 people and molding their behaviour to suit their purposes.
17 Further, I have found little evidence from my own experience
18 that government personnel in the north are significantly
19 less susceptible to the frontier ethic so well described
20 by Brody, than were other earlier representatives of
21 metropolitan institutions. Such an ethic has been an
22 integral part of the colonial administration and has been
23 documented for the western Arctic by the government
24 sociologist Parsons, among others.

25 The last few years have brought
26 a third phase of incorporation. Following the discovery
27 of oil at Prudhoe Bay, not only government but corporate
28 eyes turned north. Before that, despite government
29 incentives, corporate interest in the north was marginal.
Since 1968, oil and gas exploration has become the main

1 focus of industrial sector activity in the region.
2
3 This has had two major consequences from the perspective
4 of the native inhabitants. One is that for the first
5 time, the activity of the white man was no longer limited
6 to the towns and settlements, those tiny pinpoints on
7 the huge map of the north. Extensive seismic exploration
8 has meant competition for the use and control of the
9 land of which native people have always enjoyed the free
10 and unrestricted use, as well as a potential threat to
11 the resources on which they depend.

12 Second, native people have
13 become entirely superfluous to the operations of the
14 modern sector in their own land. The outside world
15 wants the north, or at least its oil and gas resources,
16 but it doesn't need native people. Outsiders know exactly
17 what they want and exactly how to get it and they need
18 absolutely no local help. Now they can travel to any
19 place with tractors, trucks, airplanes and helicopters.
20 They can keep themselves warm, sheltered and clothed and
21 fed by bringing everything they need from outside. They
22 have all the knowledge, techniques and equipment to
23 explore for oil, drill for it and take it out of the
24 country. They can bring all the labour they need from
25 outside. If there were no native people in the north,
26 they could still do all this indeed with considerably
27 less trouble. As it is, jobs must be given to people
28 who lack the skills, orientations or motivations of the
29 regulars from the southern oil fields, costly measures
30 are necessary to provide even minimal protection for the

1 environment and above all, there is the nagging question
2 of who owns the land, which threatens to disrupt the
3 time table, so carefully drawn up in corporate and
4 government offices. In other words, native people mean
5 extra costs and more uncertainty, the twin bails of any
6 corporation.

7 Fortunately the days of the
8 smallpox blanket are gone. How then does the modern
9 metropolis cope with such a problem in the hinterland?

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

Given the fundamental differences in social and economic interests of metropolis and hinterland in this case, and the enormous strength and power between the two, there is an obvious solution to the problem which falls well short of the discredited smallpox blanket technique. If the metropolis has nothing to offer the hinterland, it can impose its will only by force. On the other hand, if the material conditions of life between the two are vastly different, the alternate strategy is to degrade the traditional economy, create new wants, and then offer to fill them. In other words, destroy the autonomous life of the hinterland and make it dependent on the metropolis. While this is sometimes known as extending the benefits of civilization, its impulse is not entirely altruistic. Aside from incorporating territory and resources under metropolitan control, this strategy brings new consumers into the metropolitan market. In the case of the north, the sparsity of population renders the latter benefit almost valueless, which may in part explain the absence of significant effort in this direction until the recent necessity to expand the frontiers of oil and gas exploration. On the other hand, this same small population means that the metropolis can be generous with welfare at minimal cost. As C.D. Howe once observed,

"It would be cheaper to bring everybody out of the north and put them up in the Chateau Laurier."

Even in today's world, vast territories can be bought relatively cheaply when so

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 few people own them. In any event, the strategy is
2 to increase the dependence of native people on the
3 metropolis. If wants and needs exist which only the
4 metropolis can fulfill, then the power of control has
5 been achieved.

6 I mentioned before that depen-
7 dence brings obligations. There now appears to be a
8 prevailing mode of thought amongst white northerners
9 as well as representatives of southern development
10 interests, that native people have received benefits
11 on such a scale that they should not oppose development
12 as it has been planned by government and industry, and
13 that if they do, such benefits will certainly cease.
14 Now that southern interests need the land and resources
15 of the north, it is only right that native people
16 should be happy with this exchange and grateful for
17 the system which comes with it.

18 Now whether this is a fair
19 exchange is debatable. Undeniably, however, the
20 terms of the bargain which were set exclusively by
21 the metropolis and the nature of the bargain were
22 certainly not made explicit at the outset. Now of
23 course I'm not suggesting that some sinister people
24 secretly planned all this a century ago. But there is
25 a continuing logic to the pattern. The terms of the
26 bargain have always been set by the white man. Even
27 if he was generous, he was so on his own terms because
28 he had the power. He set the fur prices, the wage
29 rates, the whole system of rewards and punishment for
30 everything people did. He made the rules about how

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 people ought to behave. He enforced them through the
2 Courts by hiring and firing people, by the welfare
3 system, and by helping some people and not others in
4 all kinds of ways.

5 Obviously the metropolis
6 has the whip hand and intends to use it. Crudely,
7 "what the white man giveth, he also taketh away." This
8 idea is communicated to native people in many and subtle
9 ways, by government officials, industry and the local
10 white business elite. Let me quote but one example
11 from the April 1974 Newsletter of the Inuvik & District
12 Chamber of Commerce:

13 "The Mackenzie gas pipeline is essential for
14 future northern petroleum exploration, highway
15 construction, community improvements, native
16 claims, environmental protection, and political
17 evolution. As the pipelines and petroleum activ-
18 ities have helped all the people of Alberta over
19 the past 25 years, this same overall development
20 pattern will facilitate improvements for every
21 Northwest Territories resident. Without the
22 pipeline construction, northern residents face
23 a continued colonial status and welfare economy.
24 With pipeline construction, northerners will
25 have the opportunity to look out to their
26 own needs, their environment, and their govern-
27 ment."

28 The proposition that the
29 pipeline will decolonize the north appears to be
30 advanced by the Federal and Territorial Governments as

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 well ,which is of particular interest since only a
2 few years ago in both these organizations suggestions
3 that the north was indeed a colony were not well-
4 received.

5 The overall message to native
6 northerners is clear. Their dwellings, their jobs, their
7 towns, their health, their hunting and travelling
8 gear, their leisure pursuits, all have been given
9 them by the south, and if the south pulled out tomorrow
10 they would be doomed. They are totally dependent for
11 their welfare on the south and their land and resources
12 are but a pittance in return for the benefits lavishly
13 heaped upon them. If they can't see it at that level,
14 well then he who pays the piper calls the tune. Many
15 ordinary white transients in the north believe this
16 as well, and indeed some have expressed this to this
17 Inquiry.

18 One of the consequences of
19 this third phase is the decreased isolation of the
20 two economies, of which I spoke, earlier. This is
21 due both to the unprecedentedly large-scale of
22 operations and to the geographical dispersion of
23 modern oil and gas development. First, there is
24 now the prospect that employment levels in the
25 hydrocarbon industry and induced developments alone
26 could far exceed the total available labor force in
27 the entire area for a period of five to 30 years.

28 Second, the extensive nature
29 of hydrocarbon exploration and development, and its
30 potential for widespread chronic and catastrophic

Boakhusht, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 pollution and environmental degradation are already
2 posing a threat to traditional native land -- use of
3 the land, unapproached in magnitude by any other
4 event in the history of contact. At the same time,
5 government and industry are now actively seeking to
6 convert the native labor force to industrial wage
7 employment. This is largely at the insistence of
8 government and is the outcome of policies adopted
9 early in the second phase of incorporation but which
10 were based, as I suggested in previous evidence, on
11 a series of false premises.

12 The third phase of incorpora-
13 tion has brought a new element into the resident white
14 community, typical of frontier boom conditions. This
15 consists of small business people, professional
16 people and transient workers, chiefly in the service
17 sector. These groups have replaced the administrative
18 elite as the dominant force in local politics, at
19 least those politics expressed through imported
20 political institutions.

21 It is characteristic of the
22 great majority of locally owned businesses in
23 the Territories that they do not and cannot generate
24 economic development on their own. Instead they are
25 dependent on development generated by large metropolitan
26 institutions. Those businesses such as real estate,
27 expediting, insurance, contracting, transport, and
28 merchandising, as well as professions such as law and
29 accounting, which were already established before the
30 recent boom, stand to make considerable money on account

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 of it, either through expansion or by being bought
2 out by large southern interests. Others are rapidly
3 investing in such endeavors, with the hope of cashing
4 in on the boom. Indeed, some are probably over-
5 investing and we should not be surprised to hear
6 them calling on metropolitan authorities to protect
7 their investments.
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 The time perspective of the
2 individual small business is much shorter than that of
3 the large corporation. The latter will survive a delay
4 in investment and development in the region. Many of
5 the former may not. Hence local business feels a much
6 greater urgency about development and is much more
7 afraid of the consequences of a slow-down. It is
8 antagonistic to those who for whatever reason propose a
9 slow-down.

10 It is characteristic of
11 frontier development that local business interests are
12 also antagonistic to distant federal control. The
13 northern business community is therefore quick to cry
14 colonialism and assume a public posture of regional
15 autonomy. Sometimes it even claims common cause with
16 native people against it, despite the fundamental clash
17 between native and white values on the frontier as
18 described by Brody.

19 In fact, the local white
20 business community is entirely dependent on the system
21 of metropolitan dominance and is merely arguing over the
22 timing and division of the spoils. The extension of
23 metropolitan control to the hinterland generally involves,
24 at least temporarily, a vastly increased production of
25 wealth and the expansion of local markets. Local elites
26 are quick to see the possibilities of appropriating
27 some of this wealth for themselves and are therefore
28 not only the willing agents of metropolitan control but
29 indeed actively encourage this process. In the north,
30 this elite did not pre-date the advance of the metropolis

1 but followed the metropolis in the wake of this advance
2 as was commonly the case throughout Canadian history.
3 The local elite is dependent on and indeed is a function
4 of the extension of metropolitan power over the hinterland
5 and has a direct interest in the rapid integration of the
6 new region with the metropolis and the cooperation or at
7 least docility of the indigenous population. Hence the
8 local white business elite plays the role of agent of
9 the metropolis or, where local individuals directly
0 represent or are franchised by large outside corporations,
1 ambassadors for the metropolis. This becomes extremely
2 convenient for the large metropolitan interests as they
3 do not have to rely solely on their own personnel from
4 outside the region to realize their purposes. The local
5 elite, by acting in its own interests, thereby acts in
6 theirs as well.

Let me stress again that I am

1 not suggesting a conspiracy between local business interests,
2 the Territorial Government and metropolitan interests,
3 nor am I imputing deliberate malevolence to them.
4 Nor do they even always act in concert. Yet there is
5 clearly a convergence of interests and a harmony of
6 strategies in pursuit of these interests. These
7 follow logically from the nature of the system of
8 metropolitan incorporation of the hinterland as well as
9 the dominance and control over it. This is the lesson
10 of Canadian frontier development in general and of the
11 history of the western Arctic in particular. There is a metro
12 metropolitan imperative on the frontier which manifests
13 itself in predictable ways.

14 what we see from the evidence
15 and analysis of this panel is a continuity of pattern
16 through historical periods whose specific material
17 conditions and modes of life were very different. The
18 continuity lies in the progressive integration of the
19 western Arctic with national and international economic
20 and political life, the dominance of metropolitan interests
21 in the process, and hence the continued subordination of
22 native interests.

23 With each phase of incorporation,
24 native people have found themselves in a progressively
25 worse position. Demand for their souls and their produce
26 has been replaced by demand for their land. Where there
27 were formerly only a few outsiders in the north, all of
28 whom were dependent for their personal survival on native
29 people even if they did not accord them equality, now
30 there are many outsiders here, only some of whom are

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
 In Chief

dependent on native people for their jobs and none are
 dependent for their survival. The dependency of native
 society has deepened. White society in the north now ap-
 proaches the point of autonomy where it, in collaboration
 with outside interests, could achieve its objectives
 more easily in the absence of conflicting native needs.
 In such a process, individual expressions of goodwill
 and intent, whether by politicians, bureaucrats, business
 people or ordinary citizen, serve only to confuse.
 Everyone promises a new dawn tomorrow and at an individual
 level, many would sincerely like that to happen but the
 process goes on willy-nilly.

So we are left with three
 questions. What are the future consequences of this
 process if it continues? Can it be stopped or reversed?
 And, what must be done?

I believe that if development
 proceeds on its currently charted course unabated, the
 next decade or so will see native northerners effectively
 separated from their traditional land base, rendered a
 political minority in their own territory and incorporated
 into the lowest levels of the national class structure.
 The great majority of the people of the western Arctic
 will become members of a dispossessed town proletariat in
 the larger centers, left behind in the wake of a develop-
 ment process which however orderly and humane it may seem
 in the plans and policies of Ottawa and Calgary, will be
 chaotic and ruthless in Inuvik and Tuktoyaktuk. All the
 social costs to both native people and the larger society
 which have typified such processes elsewhere in North

Some may argue that regrettably this point has already been reached, that there is no turning back and now only more of the same medicine no matter how distasteful will cure a degraded, poverty stricken society. That is not what 14 years studying the western Arctic leads me to believe and that is not what the people of that region told you in their community hearings, as I understood them at least. I do not believe that the point of no return has been reached in the western Arctic. I do not equate acculturation with dependency, therefore I suggest that whatever Rubicons may have been crossed in regard to the former, have no necessary relationship to the state of the latter.

I believe that there is a viable native society there possessing its own territory its own culture and its own social and economic heritage. That society exists not as a withered reflection of the past, not as a museum piece, but as a living collectivity capable of solving its own problems and of planning and implementing its own future.

In 14 years I have watched the hammer blows of change fall with increasing frequency but that society has not crumbled, the people have managed

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 to cope with some of the changes quite effectively in
2 thier own way and with dignity. If the pace were not so
3 forced, the record might be even better, but for every
4 change people work out for themselves 10 new demands are
5 made. We are not merely looking at a random collection of
6 individuals trying to make their way in the world. We
7 are looking at a society struggling for survival, a people
8 struggling to maintain their collective identity and
9 the land and life they hold dear.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

How then can development be moderated (and I suppose that is what terms and conditions are all about) so that this society can survive and grow? My way of looking at that is to try and identify what the minimum conditions are which would allow the survival of native society, and then see if proposed developments can conform to these requirements. Anything less would seem to be of little value. I see five essential requirements:

1. The maintenance of the traditional land base and the viability of the traditional economy.
2. Maintenance of a political majority at the regional level.
3. Control of key instruments of economic power and decision-making.
4. Maintenance of the viability of the small, all-native communities.
5. Development of a cash flow to support native self-government and enterprise. This implies control of education and training for these purposes.

Obviously I am saying there must be a land claims settlement before there is a pipeline. But this land claims settlement must be ^{the} of far greater significance than the model that government now appears to contemplate. I am talking about a fundamental re-ordering of the relations between native northern society and the nation as a whole. If we see a land claims settlement and other arrangements, including the terms and conditions set by this Inquiry as having the purpose of protecting the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

integrity and viability of native society, then any solution which merely pays native people off for their land and then seeks to integrate them into the larger society with no special rights or guarantees is really no solution at all. The idea that the north is just another part of Canada, that its residents, regardless of origin, are all northerners together, running it along the same lines as any province or county or municipality down south, simply has to go. No northern institution guided by such a philosophy is compatible with the survival of native society.

Whatever the arrangements are, they must help native people to maintain a separate status and identity to some significant degree, and especially there must be adequate arrangements so that outsiders cannot, by certain loopholes, assume control of native communities and institutions. Experience tells us that this can happen very easily, and that it is extraordinarily demoralizing. If outsiders gain or maintain predominance in the north, and they can do this easily without a majority, then the survival of native society is indeed in danger.

I am not, on the other hand, advocating complete separation or segregation, although there are models for that in other parts of the north which bear little resemblance to other situations which have given those terms a pejorative meaning. I am thinking, for example, of Greenland before 1953. In strictly economic terms, the Soviet policy of regional

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 autarky, whereby each northern region is encouraged
2 toward self-sufficiency with a high degree of internal
3 economic linkages, also offers a model.

4 What I am suggesting is that
5 native people must be given the economic and political
6 means to guarantee their own survival, and that will
7 take time. It does not magically occur the day a
8 land claims settlement is signed. It will need a
9 period of years for its implementation and for
10 alternative economic development plans to be formulated
11 and implemented.

12 Properly planned, I think
13 development of the non-renewable or industrial
14 sector could greatly assist the development of the
15 renewable native sector. I am advocating a dual
16 economy, but one which is structurally different. The
17 dual economy which exists now ought not to be eliminated
18 but transformed so that its parts can be co-equal.
19 I believe the possibilities to exist for viable
20 community-based economic development -- COPE will be
21 leading evidence on this later on -- and that these
22 should be well-established before massive development
23 in the Western Arctic. I have already suggested that
24 the notion of the Western Arctic as poverty-stricken
25 and resource poor, with the only salvation for its
26 people lying in employment in the oil and gas industry,
27 is wrong. At the same time, separate institutional
28 developments, particularly in the political and edu-
29 cational spheres, may be called for.

I'm going to eliminate the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 next paragraph and substitute the part on page 3,
2 new page 26.

3 Separate development in the
4 north means geographic separation of economic activity.
5 It means that incoming transients are not welcome in
6 native communities, they must be in isolated camps,
7 they must be flown directly to and from the south,
8 and they can have no access to the land, its resources,
9 or the small communities. I refer not only to pipeline
10 labor, but also to speculative transients or those
11 finding secondary employment over whom the applicants
12 have rightly stated they will have little or no control.

13 We know that increased develop-
14 ment, especially in the delta and Western Arctic
15 will in no way be restricted to the activities of the
16 present applicants, will entail a number of transients
17 coming into the country. We have had some debate over
18 the numbers of these people recently, but I think whether
19 500 or 5,000 or 50,000 eventually arrive, is in some
20 respects of very little importance. Certain disrup-
21 tive impacts will remain the same.

22 I see the problem in three
23 parts:

24 (1) is the growth of a few large centres with an
25 increasing proportion of non-natives, and the degree
26 to which this is a problem does depend partly on
27 numbers.

28 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Excuse me,
29 Dr. Usher, but I can't quite follow where we are now.

30 A Well, some new pages

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 were distributed.

2 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Yes, I've
3 got one here that says,

4 "26 continued"
5 and it starts off:

6 "Creating ..."

7 A You should have 26 before
8 26 continued.

9 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I don't have
10 that.

11 A Sorry, perhaps somebody
12 else has them. Does anybody have them?

13 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, I
14 lost -- I decided not to interrupt and instead just
15 to listen to what you were saying, but I think the
16 last few sentences have not been distributed. I haven't
17 got them, anyway.

18 MR. BAYLY: I haven't got
19 them either, sir. I have three pages, and Dr.
20 Usher, I think, has four. Perhaps he can continue
21 and we can straighten this out.

22 THE COMMISSIONER: Why don't
23 you continue, because you were coming to the point.

24 A All right.

25 Q And Mr. Bayly can
26 distribute the missing page after lunch.

27 A Fine. Right, sorry about
28 that.

29 Q Excuse me, the point you
30 were making was that it didn't matter whether 5,500

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 50,000 in-migrants came. If you'd just carry on from
2 there.

3 A I see where I am, sir.

4 I said the first problem of
5 that is the growth of a few large centres with an
6 increasing proportion of non-natives and the degree to
7 which this is a problem does depend partly on numbers.

8 These centres will tend
9 increasingly to become foci of intention and power in
10 the north. The rule-based native communities will have
11 less political power on a Territorial wide basis and
12 tend to command less attention and funds. This will
13 be due not simply to a shift in the voting power, but
14 also to a centralized government employingsenior
15 bureaucrats with a largely southern urban orientation.
16 The plans they make and implement will naturally tend
17 to reflect these orientations. Certainly, political
18 rights must be kept in the hands of native northerners
19 and the few long-term residents from outside. This can
20 be done by long residency requirements for voting.

21 But for the reasons I just
22 mentioned, this is not the whole answer. The second
23 is the problem of speculative transients either coming
24 as such or becoming such after their initial employment
25 here. These are the real frontiersmen described by
26 Brody, and their numbers will matter little. I think
27 it is inevitable in the absence of firm controls for
28 the sudden influx of money, whether it be from pipeline
29 employment or even the land claims settlement involving
30 a lot of cash will attract a number of carpebaggers.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 In fact, I would foresee the north being plagued
2 by carpetbaggers in the next decade or so to a far
3 greater degree than is already the case. Native
4 peoples' experience with this phenomenon to date
5 is that very few are required in any community to
6 create the visions, strife and anxiety, let alone
7 financial exploitation.

8 I'm back on the part that
9 you probably should have now.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

It seems to me that the communities must have firm control over the establishment of all enterprises, public or private, within their confines as well as over the appointments and transfer of all transient personnel. I would guess this means absolute native control over business licenses and real property purchases within and adjacent to their settlements. In general, small business in the north must decide either to serve the needs of long-term residents or transients but not both.

It is difficult for me to imagine how you can on the one hand attempt to get all the business which results from temporary high levels of activity and yet avoid the impact of the people who bring that business.

The third, which relates directly to the second, is the shift in power and control of community life in the modern setting. It is perfectly true that there is a tradition of men going away from the community for extended periods to trap and hunt. But until recently, it was not necessary for those men to be home to protect their own interests in the political forum. I refer to settlement or hamlet council meetings, frequent visits by industry and government to discuss new developments and so on. If a large proportion of the able-bodied native work force is either on rotation or out hunting, who then will handle the political life of the community? The present situation encourages transient -- in terms of commitment -- but settled, in terms of day to day residency -- outsiders, to become prominent in

1 the affairs of the community. For reasons already given
2 in other evidence, these are the people very likely to get
3 on local councils and influence decision making entirely
4 out of proportion to their numbers, despite the fact that
5 their interests may be diametrically opposed to those
6 of the majority of native inhabitants. Uncontrolled,
7 this situation can only worsen with the arrival of more
8 carpetbaggers and adventurers.

9 I go on to the bottom of page
10 26. Regarding the labor force, native people should not
11 be herded into the industrial system without regard to
12 the long-term consequences. We have heard in evidence
13 that training programs do not simply give people job
14 skills. They resocialize them into having different
15 needs, orientations and aspirations. That also undermines
16 native society. It is difficult to see how training for
17 careers which ultimately can be fulfilled only by going
18 outside or massive involvement in migratory work to bush
19 camps and drill rigs where people are away from their
20 home communities most of the time will enhance the
21 development and continuity of community life.

22 Native people should certainly
23 be free to gravitate towards such jobs as careers as they
24 themselves feel the need to do so. Casual employment in
25 construction or exploration activity should be seen as a
26 useful source of income for those who need it, a temporary
27 expedient while developing a more balanced and self-suffi-
28 cient locally based and controlled economy rather than as
29 a permanent goal for the future since these activities are
30 at least as unstable as the fur trade ever was. The long-

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 term goal should be toward a balanced occupational struc-
2 ture so that native people can look after their own
3 growingly diverse needs and not become dependent on one
4 industry, even if it does last for 30 years.

5 I have an insert here on page
6 27. We cannot look at jobs as an undifferentiated phenomenon.
7 I suggested before that the kinds of jobs are of enormous
8 importance to the future well-being of native people.
9 I also think that the source of jobs is important. When
10 a community has no control over the source of its
11 economic well-being, it cannot be said to be independent.
12 If jobs are a scarce resource and they are controlled
13 by outsiders however well meaning, the potential for
14 division and strife within the community is greatly
15 enhanced and its ability to unite for its own common
16 purposes is vastly undermined.

17 These problems are already
18 apparent in the western Arctic. While it is true that
19 trade makes everyone interdependent, the control by a
20 community of its economic activity which produces both
21 its own needs and its surplus for trade goes far to ensure
22 that it is not totally at the mercy of distant and
23 uncontrollable forces.

24 All the terms and conditions made
25 by this Inquiry should therefore seek to maximize native
26 autonomy and self-development and to insulate native
27 society rather than integrate it with the pipeline and
28 related developments. There must be a land claims settle-
29 ment of far reaching proportions. It must be consistent
30 with the maintenance of the traditional economy and native

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 community life. The small communities are the hearth of
2 the native way of life and if their viability and autonomy
3 is broken, then I fear the future of native society
4 itself is grim, for then no native person will have any
5 place he can truly call home. There must be economic
6 insulation from the distorting and inflationary effects
7 of massive, rapid construction.

8 There must a delay in the
9 start of construction so that the necessary plans and
10 implementation can precede it. There must be a slowdown
11 in the rate of activity once it starts if the north is
12 not to be overwhelmed. There must be continuing native
13 input and control over development activity. It cannot
14 cease the day this, or any other Inquiry, stops sitting.
15 It must involve continuing negotiating power with all
16 relevant parties over such things as final design review,
17 training in employment, enforcement of all terms and
18 conditions and unforeseen problems relating to environ-
19 mental impact and social and economic impact.

20 Only if all the conditions I
21 have outlined are met, do I believe that northern society
22 stands a reasonable chance of surviving the shock of all
23 the proposed developments, and although I am less optimistic
24 about this, perhaps even benefit from them.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
26 Dr. Usher. What time is it?

27 MR. SCOTT: It's about 12:30.

28 THE COMMISSIONER: 12:30 Well
29 perhaps we should hear from Dr. Beakhust at 2:00. What
30 do you think Mr. Bayly?

Reakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 MR. BAYLY: It think that might
2 be suitable sir. I hadn't realized we'd take until
3 12-30 with Dr. Usher, sir.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.
5 Well, 2 o'clock.

6 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO 2 P.M.)
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

(PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner, I've distributed copies of the illusive page 26, to you and to the major participants. That was the one that Dr. Usher read in just before lunch. I would propose that we start with the evidence of Mr. Beakhust at this point. Have you a copy of that sir?

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, all set.

WITNESS BEAKHUST: The purpose of my evidence is to examine the policy and administrative background --

THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me, Mr. Beakhust, just before you start, I seem to have two copies and one of them is virtually unreadable. I think they both are.

MR. BAYLY: Well, it's a readable copy sir, but --

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, it's--

MR. BAYLY: It's the readable copy that you should be following with, 19 pages.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, they're both virtually illegible, with about 11. Go ahead, Mr. Beakhust.

A You have the 19 page version now, do you?

The purpose of my evidence is to examine the policy and administrative background within which any terms or conditions recommended by this Inquiry will have to be implemented. At a later

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 stage in your Inquiry, I will be leading detailed
2 evidence with respect to the administration and
3 enforcement of the Territorial land use regulations.

4 At this time, I am concerned
5 only with looking at the history of government in the
6 Northwest Territories, the role that it might play
7 in the pipeline proposals now before you, and the
8 impact of the construction of the Mackenzie Valley
9 pipeline might have upon it.

10 My perspective is somewhat
11 broader than that of my colleagues but proceeds from
12 much the same premises. I grew up in England/^{at a time}when the
13 winds of change began to blow through the British Empire
14 and developed a healthy scepticism about the benefits
15 of colonialism, both to the colonised and to the less
16 advantaged parts of the colonising society itself. I
17 spent two and a half years in the N.W.T. in the late
18 '60's living mostly among its white residents who
19 were equally critical of native people and the govern-
20 ment while making a healthy living exploiting both.

21 My experience in the north
22 and my study of its government has done little to
23 lessen my doubts about the benefits of metropolitan
24 domination, and much to enhance the view that southern
25 dominance is a root cause of many of the problems that
26 have already been documented before this Inquiry.

27 To place the blame on southern
28 dominance is not to uniformly condemn southern presence
29 in the north, but rather its central purpose, namely
30 the exploitation of northern resources for the benefit

1 southern Canadians and very often non-Canadians.

2 Many of the services brought
3 north have been welcomed by northerners and have been
4 of demonstrable benefit to them. It is not the provision
5 of health, education and welfare services by government
6 and employment by industry that is of concern, but
7 rather the question of who decides what will be pro-
8 vided, where, when and in whose interest?

9 In earlier testimony, Peter
10 Usher gave it as his opinion that lack of effective
11 control at the local level ranks as probably the most
12 significant weakness in the process of information,
13 research and consultation. My purpose here is to out-
14 line the history of external control over the north
15 and to argue that little has changed recently in this
16 respect and that outside political control over the
17 affairs of the N.W. T. is likely to be increased, not
18 decreased by massive resource developments.

19 It is this setting that has
20 determined the course of local history and relation-
21 ships outlined by my colleagues on the panel.

22 I am reluctant to use the
23 term "colonial" to describe northern government without
24 good authority and have found some support in a 1963
25 statement by the then Deputy Minister of Northern
26 Affairs and Commissioner of the Northwest Territories,
27 R.G. Robertson.

28 He stated that, and I quote:
29 "We can look at ourselves as dealing
30 today with the basic issues that were of

1 such moment a century or two ago in other
2 places. We can also see, in living process,
3 the interaction of political, economic,
4 institutional, and geographic factors in a
5 new setting, in new terms and proportions, and
6 yet with much the same character and signifi-
7 cance that they have in pre-revolutionary
8 America or in our own colonial days."

9 Setting aside the differences
10 between Canadian and American colonial history, I
11 should like to contrast Robertson's description of a
12 colonial administration with a definition of a con-
13 stitutional one provided by Professor J.R. Mallory in
14 a recent book on the structure of Canadian government.
15 He states that, I quote:

16 "The essence of a constitutional order is that
17 it provides effective means of preventing
18 abuses of power, and ensures that those in
19 authority cannot take away the ultimate rights
20 of the governed to remove them or to reject
21 their policies."

22 He further suggests that the
23 three basic elements of Canadian government are a system
24 of law, the right to representative institutions and
25 the principle of religious toleration. Without delving
26 into the first and third of these components, it is
27 true, I think, that most of the debates over government
28 in the N.W.T. since the end of the war have revolved
29 around the question of representative institutions,
30 whether they be federal and Territorial franchises or
locally based administration or

1 participation by northerners in their own government
2 and administration. More profoundly, there is the
3 question of whether or not the N.W.T. meets or has
4 ever met the requirements Mallory sets forth for
5 constitutional order, and it is this question that I
6 want to address through a brief examination of the
7 history of public policy, political institutions and
8 political philosophy as they affect the N.W.T.
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

Despite a number of important changes over the past 30 years, northern government and administration are characterised by the same kind of continuity at the political or federal-territorial level that Brody and Usher have described as the personal, community one. The history of both in the north is a short one, no more than 55 years at the most optimistic estimate and probably closer to 30 if one wants to talk about a recognizable and distinct government and administration for the N.W.T. That is not to say that the north has not been subject to powerful economic influences from the outside for a much longer period and indeed the northern economy from whaling to fur trading to hydrocarbon extraction has been characterised by a high level of integration into the metropolitan economies of western Europe and North America. Dosman has described the current state of integration at some length in "The National Interest". I am concerned here only to look at questions of government and administration as they serve to support the colonial relationship between north and south that is built upon the reality of economic integration.

The best description of both public policy and administration with respect to the north up to the end of the Second World War is one of expedience, parsimony and neglect interspersed with brief bursts of activity brought on by the resource based southern intrusions. In the first 16 years of its existence as presently constituted, the administration of the N.W.T. was, in Prime Minister Laurier's

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 words "practically nil". Though provision was made for
2 one in 1905, no Council members were appointed until
3 1921. The first Commissioners of the "new" post in
4 1905 N.W.T. never once visited the territory north of
5 60 for which he was almost solely responsible during
6 his 13 years in office. The high point of federal
7 expenditures in the N.W.T. between 1905 and 1921 was a
8 meagre \$9,800 in the fiscal year 1908-1909.

9 The brief flurry of activity
10 associated with the discovery of oil at Norman Wells
11 prompted appointment of the first Territorial Council in
12 1921 made up of senior officials from the Departments
13 of Interior, Indian Affairs, Mines and the R.C.M.P.
14 This interdepartmental committee form of government
15 persisted right up to 1950 with the single exception
16 of a Yellowknife mine manager who was appointed to join
17 the public servants on the Council in 1947. The
18 Council met infrequently during the '20's, averaging
19 less than one half-day meeting per year, but did show
20 some signs of life in the early '30's when another
21 resource discover, pitchblende on Great Bear Lake, once
22 again precipitated an influx of white population. By
23 the late '30's, many of these people had moved south
24 to the Great Slave Lake area and by the outbreak of
25 the war, the fledgling community of Yellowknife had
26 the first Local Trustee Board and the first public
27 school district in the N.W.T.

28 Some years earlier, however,
29 in 1931, the Federal Government had dissolved its
30 Northwest Territories and Yukon Branch as an economy

Beakhuist, Usher, Brody
In Chief

measure and buried these northern responsibilities in a small division within the Department of the Interior. Though the Territorial Council met somewhat more frequently during the '30's, its expenditures remained minimal and had reached a total of only \$570,000 per year by the end of the last war.

The economic plight of native people faced with wildly fluctuating fur prices was never dealt with by a Council that concentrated its efforts on providing minimal public services to new northern residents looking for and exploiting its natural resources. Despite an obvious and growing reliance on economic conditions and decisions in the south, as late as 1952 it was still generally accepted as government policy "that Eskimo should be encouraged and helped to live off the land and to follow their traditional way of life."

The crisis in the native economy has been well documented in Peter Usher's evidence and I want to add only that this policy response, even in the early '50's was based less on a belief that it was an ideal solution for native people than it was on the deep-seated and traditional commitment to minimizing public expenditures in the north.

The history of government to the end of the last war was one of reaction to economic initiatives. In the case of the first real government effort in 1921, it was more a case of government reacting to having been caught off-guard by the Klondike Rush

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
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1 than it was a move necessitated by any oil stampede.
2 Within a year, most of the officials had been with-
3 drawn to Ottawa to await the next demand on their
4 services. In the meantime, minimal funds were allocated
5 to religious groups for the education of native
6 children and what little policy is discernible in the
7 first half of the century was mostly concentrated on
8 fighting fires caused by the incursion of whites
9 seeking northern resources and providing minimal infra-
10 structure support in the form of communications ser-
11 vices that were used predominantly by the same people.

12 Several explanations have
13 been advanced for what seems to have been a change in
14 government attitudes in the post-war period. Among
15 them "humanitarianism", notably in the form of northern
16 extensions of the developing welfare state, has received
17 particular credit, especially in the writings of
18 former public servants. A more potent consideration
19 was the strategic location of the north in the cold
20 war era that was slowly supplemented and has since been
21 overtaken by a growing appreciation of the north's
22 resource potential based upon a resurgence of explora-
23 tion and mining activity and the first comprehensive
24 air-photo survey begun by the R.C.A.F. shortly after
25 the war's end.

26 The political manifestations
27 of these changes include an extension of the federal
28 franchise to the Mackenzie District, initially as part
29 of the Yukon constituency in 1947 and in 1952 as a
30 separate constituency of its own; the creation of a

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 teeritorial franchise in the Mackenzie and the
2 addition of three white elected members to the Council
3 in 1951. The first meeting of the Council ever held
4 in the north in same year and the gradual transfer of
5 administrative responsibilities from Federal to
6 Territorial Governments that culminated with the
7 establishment of a separate territorial administration
8 in Yellowknife in 1967.

9 (OVERVIEW EVIDENCE, PANEL 2 OF GRAHAME BEAKHUST MARKED
10 EXHIBIT 679)

"I am responsible for the Government of the N.W.T. through the Minister of Northern Affairs & Northern Development,"

and he also said that -- and I quote him yet again:

Bakhusht, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 "Council, let us face it, is an Advisory
2 Board,"

3 albeit one that contained only one elected native
4 member out of seven and one appointed native member out
5 of five.

6 In 1965 the government
7 created an Advisory Commission on the Development of
8 Government in the Northwest Territories headed by A.W.R.
9 Carrothers. Established primarily to settle the issue
10 of division of the Territories that had been discussed
11 by council since the early '60s, the Carrothers Commis-
12 sion made a wide range of recommendations on the future
13 structure of the Territorial Government for the N.W.T.
14 A number of its recommendations have since been
15 implemented and indeed by some counts, a majority of
16 them. The crucial recommendations, however, with
17 respect to the development of the Executive Branch,
18 the Legislature, and most particularly the recommenda-
19 tions with respect to economic development, have not
20 been implemented. Without the provisions for economic
21 development, implementation of Carrothers' recommenda-
22 tions on the establishmen t of a Territorial adminis-
23 tration located in the north, or the location of the
24 Territorial capital at Yellowknife, represents a
25 shuffling around of bureaucratic responsibilities rather
26 than a fundamental re-arrangement of executive
27 government in the N.W.T. The Commissioners recognized
28 this themselves when they stated in their report that:
29 "It is all very well that people should be
30 free to work out their own destiny; but freedom

Beakhus, Usher, Brody
In Chief

without opportunity will produce a destiny pre-determined by those who, having the means, withhold the opportunity."

The pattern of Carrothers Commission implementation in the north has followed the spirit of federal re-organization in the south. The creation of the Department of Northern Affairs & National Resources in 1953 is sometimes characterized as a breakthrough in government attitudes towards the north. Prior to that time northern responsibilities had been buried away in various bureaus, divisions and occasionally branches of respectively the Departments of Interior, Mines & Resources, and Resources & Development. The most quoted passage in the debate on the establishment of this new department is Prime Minister St. Laurent's statement that:

"Apparently we have administered these vast territories in an almost continuing state of absence of mind."

Of more lasting interest, however, were his statements on second reading and during the committee stage when it became quite apparent that there was:

"A need for a re-arrangement of functions," and that the new department amounted to -- I quote the Prime Minister again:

"shift in emphasis and a new name," rather than any radical departure in federal policy towards the north. The emphasis was to remain, as the new department's name implied, on national resources rather than upon the human development of the northern

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief


majority or the political development of its government.

The pattern of administration over the past two decades has been less one of evolution towards self-determination for northerners and in particular northern native majority than it has been one of first of all shifting administrative responsibilities from Federal to Territorial Governments and more recently one of competition between them for the benefits that both foresee flowing from major oil and gas developments. By the middle of 1969 the federal administration in this community had been reduced to one small building across from the Liquor Store while the Laing Building continued to grow and fill up with territorial public servants a couple of blocks north. Within two years, however, largely as a result of developments following the Prudhoe Bay discovery, the federal administration had undergone a substantial increase in numbers, and by then occupied no less than a dozen different locations in Yellowknife. We are now treated to the spectacle of a battle for altitude between those who directly represent the Federal Government in the south-west corner and those who indirectly represent them through the territorial administration in the north-east. While the size of the federal administration in the north has grown dramatically in the past six years, it remains essentially the local arm of a government still reacting to developments it either failed to anticipate or cannot quite believe have happened. The bulk of its officials are engaged in regulatory

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 activities designed to mitigate the results of resource
2 development rather than to provide for policy leader-
3 ship in northern development as a whole. There is in
4 fact no coherent policy in this area at all, as is
5 amply demonstrated by the government's own statement
6 of priorities in,

7 "Canada's North 1970-1980,"
8 many of which are mutually incompatible. In the mean-
9 time it struggles along still providing a minimum
10 cushion between massive resource developments that its
11 senior officials are actively promoting from Ottawa
12 and the social and environmental consequences of these
13 developments in the north that the same department is
14 simultaneously charged with minimizing.



Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

There was some hope in the late '60's as the Territorial government established itself in the north that this represented a move towards a constitutional order and away from the old colonial one. The promise has not been fulfilled.

While the Council can now be called a representative institution, it is the only one in the northern system of government that is, and it can barely be called a normal legislature after the Canadian pattern. The majority of the governed now form a majority on the Council, but it remains more advisory than legislative in function. Members may not bring forward money bills unless they are sponsored by a Commissioner who remains an official of the federal government. On many occasions he has reminded the Council that in the peculiar situation of the N.W.T., it would lose money that he has bargained for them with Ottawa, if they choose to cut out any items in the budget. By coincidence, I see that Dr. Stanley, in a paper to be introduced by the Indian Brotherhood later this week states that Indians in the areas of his study often, I quote:

"Support programmes that they have little faith in just so that they won't "lose" the money".

In the N.W.T., as late as 1968, the administration was still presenting its budget proposals to Council with a cover page reading as follows:

"Appropriation, 1969 to 1970, Schedule -

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 Explanatory Notes. Approved at the 38th
2 Session 1969, Yellowknife."

3 Such a presumption on the
4 part of the executive branch before Council had even
5 considered the budget is hardly indicative of what
6 Mallory would call a constitutional order. In fairness
7 to the Territorial government though, it is true that
8 the real financial control remains in Ottawa rather
9 than in Yellowknife. The people here merely act as
10 Ottawa's administrative intermediary in the Territories
11 while the real power remains as it has all along, in
12 the political metropolis.

13 Ottawa makes the decisions,
14 Yellowknife helps to carry them out and pick up the
15 pieces.

16 In terms of the Territorial
17 budget, for say, the fiscal year, 1978 - '79, that will
18 be discussed by Council early in 1978, detailed esti-
19 mates are already being prepared because the Territorial
20 government will have to take these to Ottawa in the
21 spring of next year and secure an agreement with
22 Ottawa before presenting the estimates to the Territorial
23 Council 18 months from now.

24 If this were advanced planning,
25 it would indeed be a laudatory exercise, but in fact,
26 it is really a process of tailoring demands to what
27 the territorial government anticipates Ottawa will be
28 willing to yield in financial assistance when an agree-
29 ment is finally reached in the fall of next year.

30 It is little surprise then, that

1 many Territorial Councils feel themselves to be something
2 of a rubber stamp, able at best to make peripheral
3 changes in the direction of Territorial government and
4 administration.

5 By virtually all criteria
6 therefore, the government of the north is colonial and
7 not constitutional. The Council is the only representa-
8 tive institution but has virtually no power. The
9 Territorial administration which has more power, is
10 composed entirely of non-northerners in the higher
11 echelons and is in turn, answerable to a federal govern-
12 ment that has even less northern representation in
13 its Department of Indian and Northern Affairs. In
14 Parliament, itself, the N.W.T. has presently one seat
15 out of 265 and a vacant chair in the Senate.

16 The argument that the north
17 is incapable of governing itself is heard less frequently
18 these days as different groups representing native
19 people press their claims for land settlements and
20 various forms and levels of political autonomy. Even
21 if they do not yet possess the necessary skills them-
22 selves they are at least capable of determining what
23 skills are required and hiring their own professionals
24 as opposed to those hired or provided by government.

25 The argument against northern
26 autonomy rests therefore with the other longstanding
27 criticism, that the Territories would remain financially
28 dependent on senior levels of government. This argument
29 however, is undermined by the federal governments own
30 claims about the resource potential of the N.W.T., for

1 greater Territorial autonomy is a corollary of control
2 over natural resources. A land settlement involving
3 some level of financial control over natural resources
4 would, by Ottawa's own account, soon yield sufficient
5 revenue for all or parts of the N.W.T. to achieve political
6 self-determination commensurate with the definition of
7 a constitutional order.

8 The block to this kind of
9 development is not an administrative or legislative one,
10 but a consideration of power. For all the devolution
11 of administrative and to some extent, executive functions
12 to the Territorial government, the key to political
13 power lies in the economic control still exercised by
14 the federal government over northern natural resources.

15 Progressively higher levels
16 of government continue to make crucial decisions with
17 respect to even day to day development within small
18 northern communities. This relationship, the metropolis
19 hinterland one applies whether one is talking about
20 that between Ottawa and Yellowknife, that is federal
21 retention of control over northern resources and the
22 financing of the Territorial administration, whether
23 it holds between Yellowknife and the settlements, again
24 local communities can deliver their own water, collect
25 their own garbage and shoot their strays, but they
26 cannot make key decisions about land use and disposition,
27 education and game management. Whether it holds between
28 settlement councils and settlement managers, as outlined
29 in earlier testimony by Wilf Bean, or more generally,
30 whether it applies between southerners and northerners

1 as demonstrated in the evidence of my colleagues on
2 the panel.

3 The political reality in the
4 N.W.T. is colonial and so is the political philosophy.
5 The urban metropoli of the south focus power and
6 wealth and make all the important decisions about
7 development of their own hinterlands, within that
8 relationship, those who control accumulated capital
9 make the important decisions affecting the lives of
10 the majority who do not.

11 The north differs only in
12 being a hinterland now integrated into a north American
13 energy market dominated by several metropoli and a
14 few large corporations representing massive accumulations
15 of capital.

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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 The result is a high degree
2 of centralized power on the one hand and on the other,
3 an incredible proliferation of institutions, organiza-
4 tions and bureaucracies at the territorial and community
5 level that diffuse the reality of power concentration
6 and carry out a bewildering and often contradictory
7 array of administrative functions. The fact that
8 many of these institutions are perceived as inappropri-
9 ate by northerners should come as little surprise
10 when one seeks out their origin, for they come not
11 from the complex societies of the north itself, but
12 from the south dominated by a history and philosophy
13 of liberal democracy.

14 Without burdening you, Mr.
15 Commissioner, with a lengthy discourse on political
16 theory, I would suggest that the theory of represen-
17 tation offers a good example of an idea that may not
18 be entirely appropriate in a northern setting. In
19 the various democratic theories growing out of
20 Schumpeter's work in the '40s, elections came to
21 be seen as competitions between elites or elite groups
22 for the right to make decisions for their electorate
23 over a specified period of time, a right usually to
24 make all decisions of a public nature. Persons elected
25 in such competitions are the representatives of their
26 electorate and charged with making their decisions for
27 them. Transposed to the north such a model may have
28 administrative attractions but bears little resem-
29 blance to the realities of decision-making within
30 northern communities. From my own limited experience

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

and the evidence offered by several witnesses, it has not been^a generally held view that settlement councillors are persons elected to make all crucial decisions for settlements on its behalf. In practice people are elected or acclaimed to such positions in northern settlements for a variety of reasons, among them, their ability to conduct what are seen as menial administrative tasks or their ability to deal with territorial and federal officials who really make the decisions. If senior governments and officials force decisions out of Settlement Councils "representing" their communities, they risk both antagonizing the community as a whole and obtaining agreements impossible to implement. Northerners may well participate in the institutions created for them by the south, but their perceptions of those institutions and their reasons for participating may be quite different than those conventionally thought of by outsiders. At the same time, while northerners may actively participate in municipal or territorial election, that is participate in southern institutions, this should not be taken as thereby legitimizing these administrative arrangements that have been forced upon them. In particular, it should not be seen as legitimizing the power relationships that these institutional arrangements embody. Northerners are understandably ambivalent about their participation in government and administration, but do so/surely because these are very the only alternatives available for pressing their own interests.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

The development of government in the N.W.T. has been a history of delegating difficult administrative tasks to the field while retaining power in the centre, power represented by the control over natural and financial resources in Ottawa and power represented by control over education, social development, and local government here in Yellowknife.

This situation has changed little since government came to the north, and reflects at the level of government the relationships documented by Brody at the personal community one. The basis for this type of government has been the high level of economic intergration of the north into the economies of outside, southern metropoli, Together this political continuity and economic integration have formed major blocks to the attainment of a self-determining constitutional order in the N.W.T. The pipeline proposals now before this Inquiry will only serve to bind the north ever more tightly to the south and leave precious little room for the political development of northerners along lines determined by them and controlled by them. To create the trappings of political independence in a reality of economic domination can only produce frustration, suspicion, and eventually anger and hostility. Mel Watkins has stated that a major theme of his evidence before this Inquiry was that a concern with economic development compels us to concern ourselves with political control. A major theme of my evidence is that a concern with political development compels us to concern ourselves

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 with economic control. Viewed from this perspective,
2 it could be argued that people who derive a substan-
3 tial portion of their income from the land -- their
4 bank, as they have told you in the community hearings
5 -- may well have a firmer base for political
6 independence than those engaged in high paying but
7 essentially transitory wage employment. The crucial
8 question is not how many jobs or how much income a
9 pipeline can generate, for it may be quite productive
10 in both respects. The real question is who creates
11 and who controls the jobs, how they are distributed,
12 how reliable they are, and in the final analysis, how
13 they fit in with and how they contribute to the ful-
14 fillment of a community or a society's aspirations.

15 My own professional and
16 personal bias favors constitutional order over
17 colonial, if for no other reason than that there will
18 be no peace until the rights of the colonized to a
19 constitutional order have been recognized. In the
20 north this can be to some extent achieved by a re-
21 ordering of political relationships, but on the evidence
22 of the applicants themselves, political development is
23 in large measure dependent on economic advance.
24 Economic advance without economic control is, however,
25 no basis for a constitutional order. Political develop-
26 ment will follow economic advance only if that advance
27 is controlled by northerners and the only way that
28 will be achieved is through land settlements. Unless
29 there is a parity of power between north and south, the
30 proposals before you, Mr. Commissioner, can only serve
to further frustrate the achievement of a constitutional
order in the N.W.T.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Thank you
2 Mr. Beakhust.

3 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
4 that completes the evidence of this panel and the
5 panel is now available for cross-examination.

6 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. BELL:

7 Q Mr. Brody, in your
8 overview evidence, you concentrate primarily on the
9 situation of the native peoples in the Northwest
10 Territories. I know that this Inquiry is concerned
11 with the impact of the pipeline on all sectors of the
12 population in the north.

13 WITNESS BRODY: I'd like
14 it a little bit louder. I just can't hear you.

15 Q I'm sorry. I'll speak
16 a little louder. I know that your overview evidence
17 was concerned primarily with the situation of native
18 people in the north, and I thought that since this
19 Inquiry was concerned with the impact of a pipeline on
20 all sectors of the population, you might be able to
21 say a few words about the situation of white residents
22 of the north. I know that you devoted some space to
23 that in your book, "The People's Land". Would you
24 care to say a few words about that?

25 A Yes. I think probably
26 I am qualified to address myself not to the whites in
27 a general northern sense, but to the whites who
28 are resident in the north in administrative, educational
29 and similar service capacities.

30 I suppose the thing I want to

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 argue is that the situation in the north deformed them
2 as well as the people over whose lives they have so
3 much control. Perhaps the best way to characterize
4 this deformation is to regard it as a process -- a
5 process which begins with persons arriving in the north
6 armed with the best of intentions -- often people
7 quite well qualified, often people with high integrity
8 and some relevant experience -- but certainly I would
9 emphasize, the best of intentions.

10 They arrive in a community and
11 find the syndrome that I have to tried to characterize
12 in my two papers. Namely, an unresponsive, rather
13 withdrawn society with individuals who say "Yes, yes"
14 to whatever they might suggest but then do very little.
15 The effect this has on the well-meaning administrator
16 is to make him irritated and to regard the native
17 peoples as a problem, an increasingly objective item
18 and separate himself from them and thereby increasingly
19 to emphasize his role as it were "a ruler".

20 We therefore find that the
21 retreatism of the natives gives rise to a retreatism
22 among the whites themselves. That is to say they come to
23 live more and more in their own little enclave. That
24 enclave might be a house. It might be a community of
25 three or four families. It might be a community of
26 20 families. But it produces a de facto segregation.
27 These persons who came with such good intentions and
28 such good ideas often end up embittered, tense, living
29 behind a plate glass window mixing socially only with
30 whites, feeling an impossibly large distance between

Beakhurst, Usher, Prody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 themselves and the natives.

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Feeling
3 what?

4 A An impossibly -- an
5 increasingly and impossibly large distance between
6 themselves and the natives whose lives they are supposed
7 to be dealing with. On my view, that constitutes in
8 the end a deformity.

9 Anyone who has been in the
10 north must be familiar with the kinds of bitchiness,
11 gossiping, introversion and tension -- social introver-
12 sion and tension -- that bedevil the white sectors
13 of their communities. That's what I mean by deformation.

14 Q Well, you and Dr.
15 Hobart appear to be in agreement on that whole question
16 of professional deformation. That's what he called it.
17 But you're really getting at the same thing that the
18 people in the administrative sector coming from the
19 south tend to adopt a set of views about native people
20 that are reinforced by the people they work with and
21 socialize with.

22 A Yes.

23 Q That's essentially what
24 he was getting at. I don't know whether you have read
25 that part of --

26 A I have read that part,
27 yes. I think we probably are in agreement. I think
28 it's more important to emphasize the agreement rather
29 than the dispute. I think it's also worth saying that
30 I, like Dr. Hobart am interested and impressed by

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 the work of Parsons on what happens to northern new-
2 comers -- white northern newcomers and the way in which
3 they become integrated into the already existing while
4 hierarchy and socialized by it.

5 Q Did you agree with --
6 did I say -- I mean Hobart. I didn't say Brody.
7 Forgive me. But do you agree with Hobart that --
8 Dr. Hobart -- that the contact at the job level is,
9 say on an oil rig -- whether it's a Gulf rig or a
10 PanArctic rig -- is likely to lead to respect for
11 native co-workers on the part of white workers and
12 that as a result, you find it is at the working level,
13 at the job level, that relations between whites and
14 natives are rather better than at the level of
15 administrator and client? If so, is that in -- well,
16 let's stop there.

17 I don't know where you --
18 I am not doing justice to his evidence, but over a
19 period of two or three weeks, that's essentially what
20 he was driving at in one of his arguments in support
21 of the pipeline project. But you might comment on
22 that Dr. Brody.

23 A It's a very difficult
24 one to comment on because I am not sure what evidence
25 one could look at to support or oppose the assertion.
26 I don't know of any study that has been done to that,
27 and I don't think that Dr. Hobart cites any study that's
28 much more than a general view which he offers, as
29 I remember from the transcript.

30 Q Yes, there were some

Beakbust, Usher, Brody.
CROSE-Exam by Bell

1 instances and some instances that he cited but you're
2 probably right. It's a general impression he has
3 collected as an informed and experience observer.

4 A Well, I would say that
5 my general impression which of course comes from a
6 very area, and here we must be very aware of the
7 difference between the east and the western Arctic --
8 that my impression from the eastern Arctic is that
9 insofar as I would want to agree with Dr. Hobart's view,
10 it is at the point where French-Canadian workers and
11 native and Eskimo workers work together. It seems
12 the reason that perhaps it's not within^{the} brief of this
13 Inquiry to look at -- there seem to be --

14 Q Nothing is beyond the
15 Inquiry.

16 A There seem to be a
17 far greater possibilities for general conviviality,
18 an evening's drinking or talking together as between
19 Eskimo and French-Canadians pipeline workers as opposed
20 to between Eskimo and English Canadians.

21 But I would like to say that
22 I have seen and heard of cases where working together
23 has produced better understanding and I have also seen
24 and heard of cases where working together has produced
25 tension and unease. I don't

26 Q But at the very least,
27 would't you agree that the professional relationship
28 between people who come from southern Canada to be
29 government administrators, whether they are social-
30 workers or economic development officers, or settlement

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 managers or whatever they are, their relationship
2 with the native people is that of professional and
3 client. I mean in the broadest sense.

4 A Structurally, yes.

5 Q At least on a job,
6 people are there as equals doing the same thing.

7 A I think that's over-
8 simplified with all due respect.

9 Q Well, I only asked you
10 to comment.

11 A It's just as the relation-
12 ship to the administrator is client to patron, if
13 you like, at the work place it's very often worker
14 to foreman or inexperienced worker to skilled worker.
15 Very often, the same kinds of relationships get reproduced
16 there though I don't think to the same degree necessarily.

17 Q Right. Well, just
18 because I put these things out for discussions doesn't
19 mean I am wedded to them. No one feels obliged
20 to hammer away at that issue for the next three days,
21 just because I said a few words about it.

22 Yes Dr. Usher?

23 WITNESS USHER: Can I make a
24 brief comment about that?

25

26

27

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Beahurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 I think that
2 I, too, would agree with Dr. Hobart in a certain res-
3 pect, and that is that it's more likely in a work
4 situation, an egalitarian work situation that whites
5 and natives would get along and this sort of conviv-
6 iality that you've described, and spend a pleasant
7 evening together, and perhaps even be mutually support-
8 ing on the work crew. What I don't think comes out
9 of that is a mutual interest in terms of the community
10 that they're in. In other words, I think the workers
11 on a crew like that have no sense of community,
12 certainly not one in the north, and that there's no
13 reason for them to have the same kinds of long-term
14 interests by virtue of working on the same job.

15 Q But that
16 apart, that's something I quite understand and has
17 been discussed here. I'm just saying their attitudes
18 -- let's not use words like "bias" and "prejudice" --
19 let's say their attitudes toward native people may
20 well be a good deal more liberal than that of the
21 professional middle-class public servant. That's
22 what Hobart seemed to be telling me, and you feel,
23 Dr. Usher, that given the premises, there's something
24 in it.

25 A Yes, I do. I'm just
26 perhaps suggesting that we ought not to take that
27 too far about what that means for the two people at
28 a societal level being able to find some mutual int-
29 erest.

30 THE COMMISSIONER:
It doesn't mean that we

Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 should immediately leap to the conclusion that the
2 pipeline should be built so they can all work together.
3 That's something that we'll leave for argument.
4 Thank you both. Second question, Mr. Bell.

5 MR. BELL: Well, I managed
6 to think of another question while you were talking,
7 sir.

8 Q It relates to the one I
9 just asked. Yesterday we had some evidence from a panel
10 presented by Foothills about the high rate of alcohol
11 consumption in the north. I was wondering, is there
12 anything that can be said, is there any relation
13 between that phenomenon and the phenomenon that
14 you've just described, the withdrawal of the two
15 cultures from each other?

16 WITNESS BRODY: If I under-
17 stand your question correctly, I welcome it because
18 it allows me to say a bit more about the last question.
19 That is that some of the men who are most at ease
20 with the migrant ^{white} worker, some of the men are most
21 pleased to spend an evening and may even take them
22 out hunting and talk about how nice it is to get to
23 know them, are the same men who will identify the
24 white migrant workers as a very real threat in
25 relation to the alcohol and prostitution questions.

26 In the case of Arctic Bay,
27 for example, where the community was on the whole
28 very enthusiastic about the opportunity for more wage
29 labor because it had been a community short of ready
30 cash, for some years, the men who talked about how

Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 nice it would be to work in the mine, also talked
2 about how dreadful it would be if the men at the mine
3 started moving into the community carrying with them
4 liquor, or if it should happen that a bar were opened
5 on the mine site and the men who were living in the
6 community would start drinking as part of working.
7 So there is somehow a splitting here, on the one hand
8 building up an understanding and on the other hand
9 identifying menace -- possible socially disruptive
10 menace.

11 Q If I could just turn to
12 the paper that you prepared entitled:

13 "Industrial Impact,"
14 on page 4 of that paper you caution us about finding
15 analogies where analogies do not properly exist, and
16 you mention three kinds of development that have
17 occurred in the western world. You mention influxes
18 of white laborers or adventurers in the gold rushes;
19 gradual settlement and transformation of the prairies;
20 and growth of the cities. Would you not agree that
21 there are, nevertheless, some important features in
22 common between these various forms of development, and
23 is not one of them the fact that they all took place
24 without the informed consent of the native people
25 that were most affected and where the native people
26 were aware of the consequences, despite the opposition
27 of the native people?

28 A Yes, I absolutely
29 agree with that. I identified, I think those
30 three situations as not analogous but only in the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Bell

1 regard that I mention there. I think my overview
2 paper this morning should help to clarify that
3 a bit. The analogy between all the situations, is
4 as you say, the intrusion of an alien world without
5 regard to the wishes of the colonialized or the "to be
6 colonialized." But I think even more precisely locate-
7 able than that, what they all have in common is a
8 determined endeavor to change systematically the
9 way in which the colonialized live. That may be
10 that in the prairies the system is different, but
11 nonetheless, the extent to which it is systematic
12 is the same.

13 When I was talking this
14 morning about continuity, as between the early fur-
15 trader and today, that continuity is the system, and
16 that is what all these colonial situations have in
17 common. It is through that that we can find analogies
18 important analogies.

19 So I think I'm absolutely in
20 agreement.

21 MR. BELL: Thank you. Those
22 are all the questions I have, sir.

23 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Reesor?

24 MR. REESOR: I have no
25 questions.

26 MR. SCOTT : I think Mrs.
27 MacQuarrie could go last. Therefore Mr. Hollingworth
28 is next.
29
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

2 Q Mr. Beakhust, just one
3 question on page 14 at the top of your evidence you
4 state that in Parliament the N.W.T. has presently one
5 seat out of 265. Is this a state of affairs that
6 you're complaining about? Or is it just there as
7 a point of information?

8 WITNESS BEAKHUST: I believe,
9 Mr. Hollingworth, at that point I'm talking about
10 representative institutions, and while it's primarily
11 a point of information, it would seem to indicate that
12 the north is not heavily represented in Parliament.

13 Q Well, I think that's
14 pretty apparent, but it's also apparent that the
15 population of the north isn't very high, isn't it?
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A That's true.

2 Q And at the -- on average,
3 one member of parliament represents about 84,000 people
4 in this country.

5 A I guess that's also
6 correct.

7 Q And the situation now is
8 that one member up here is representing substantially
9 less than that number.

10 A Yes. While that is also
11 true, I might point out that the Northwest Territories
12 is the largest single, elective constituency in the
13 entire world and that parliament has responsibilities
14 with respect to the development of resources as well
15 as the development of people. In fact, in the particular
16 case of the N.W.T., parliament is much more concerned
17 with the land and water and air resources of the N.W.T.
18 than it is with the people, and in that setting, if
19 you characterize it as a resource question, the north
20 is extremely under-represented in parliament.

21 Q Well, you're suggesting
22 then that representation should be by other than
23 population?

24 A Well, that would seem
25 to be the Canadian experience. There are many other
26 constituencies where the constituencies themselves
27 vary very greatly in the number of people per M.P. The
28 north is by no means alone in this respect. There are,
29 in fact, I might add, constitutional provisions for this
30 unequal representation, the B.N.A. Act, as I'm sure

1 you're no doubt aware with respect to the province of
2 Quebec.

3 Q Can you point out a seat
4 to me in the province of Quebec or elsewhere where one
5 member is representing as few people as the current
6 member for the N.W.T. represents?

7 A No, I already agreed with
8 you that it is the smallest number of people, but it's
9 the largest area of resources.

10 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me,
11 they will be representing the -- there will be two
12 members for the N.W.T. after the next election and each
13 will represent only something like 20,000 people. As
14 a matter of curiosity, will those two ridings be the
15 two largest constituencies in the world? You intrigued
16 us all when you said that.

17 A I don't think they will
18 be at that point. I think there's one in Brazil that
19 will be a little bit larger.

20 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Dr. Usher,
21 if we could turn to your paper, "On The Traditional
22 Economy of the Western Arctic" and particularly page
23 three for the moment.

24 WITNESS USHER: Page three?

25 Q Page three, yes.

26 A Right.

27 Q YOU make a statement
28 there that there's an average income of about \$8,000.00
29 per family from the land and that's divided into roughly
30 300 families. I take it from that that you're using

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
CROSS-Exam by Hollingworth

1 the figures above, that you're including fur and food?

2 A Yes.

3 Q So that the food portion
4 of that I calculate it to be about two thirds of the
5 total or 53 - 54 hundred dollars. Is that correct?

6 A It would make sense, yes.

7 Q Pardon?

8 A That would make sense,
9 yes.

10 Q So that's at -- to be
11 contrasted then, is it, to your evidence, Mr. Brody,
12 in -- onpage six of -- let's see, I've got so many
13 papers here -- the industrial impact paper where you
14 say, "Usher's work indicates that the value of
15 country foods in the Mackenzie Delta is even
16 higher and could, in fact, come close to
17 \$8,000.00 per family per annum"?

18 THE COMMISSIONER: What was
19 that sentence again?

20 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: "Usher's
21 work indicates that the value of country
22 foods in the Mackenzie Delta is even higher
23 and could, in fact, come close to \$8,000.00
24 per family per annum".

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Oh, yes.

26 WITNESS BRODY: It's actually,
27 -- it should be country produce, not country foods.

28 MR. HOLLINGWORTH:

29 Q All right, but it's the
30 paper that we're dealing with, Dr. Usher's paper that's
been read that you were referring to?

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A No, no, it wasn't actually.
2 It's other publications of Dr. Usher's which gave
3 more or less the same figures. I went to the trouble
4 to confirm that after I'd seen his paper.

5 Q All right, but there's no
6 other figure of Dr. Usher's that I should be aware of
7 other than this one?

8 A No, I'm sure he's in a
9 much better position to tell you that than myself.

10 WITNESS USHER: If there are
11 other figures they're out of date, I suppose.

12 Q I see.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: We'll get
14 you a list of Dr. Usher's publications that you could
15 examine at your leisure.

16 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I'm sorry
17 sir, I can hardly hear you.

18 THE COMMISSIONER: It doesn't
19 matter.

20 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I somehow
21 thought it didn't.

22 MR. BAYLY: We can make them
23 all exhibits.

24 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Dr. Usher,
25 you indicate on page five of your same paper that there
26 is a problem of measuring the volume of country produce.
27 I'm wondering how you in fact, went about it.

28 A Okay. You
29 mean about the middle of the page?

30 Q Yes.

1 A Well, the report that's
2 listed at the back, I don't know if you have had a
3 chance to look at this report on historical statistics
4 in particular, which was filed as an exhibit, it's the
5 one in which I describe somewhat more completely -- and
6 also I guess in the other listed document, evaluating
7 country food, the methodology is described in somewhat
8 more detail but I'll try and run over it a bit more
9 specifically as I remember it.

10 Your first source, obviously,
11 is to go to some kind of regular statistical record,
12 you know, government statistics and there are several
13 of these.

14 Q But you expressed some
15 concern with these.

16 A Yes, I do, I do.

17 Q Yes.

18 A And I've made estimates
19 about how reliable those statistics are, in other words
20 what the error factor is on them, based on my own
21 independent knowledge over a period of years in the
22 western Arctic of what, -- through my own field investi-
23 gations on what I understood the harvest to be, that is
24 the number of animals taken, and , you know, tried to
25 think about what the sources of error that were that
26 crept into those figures, because as I -- I don't know
27 if I've mentioned it in here, but in the other papers
28 I've made it clear that in fact, when you look at what
29 those government statistics are designed to measure,
30 it's not the absolute volume of production and that's

1 why you have to get a hold of -- that's why you have
2 to use these figures as approximations and try and
3 estimate, you know, what the degree is of accuracy
4 that approximation is. I think it's only through
5 independent field assessment, in effect, that you can
6 do that, and based on my own experience I've made some
7 estimate in that regard.

8 Q Well, I understand and
9 you say that the -- say the government statistics can
10 be out anywhere from five to fifty percent.

11 A Right.

12 Q And you say that you've
13 made a -- arrived at that margin of error by your own
14 observations.

15 A That's right.

16 Q Now, what were your
17 own observations? What did you do, go out and count
18 up a towns take of caribou and fish and this and that
19 or --

20 A Well, I have done that,
21 yes. Yes. When I lived at Sach Harbour I did that
22 sort of thing quite frequently and -- I mean that was
23 essentially what I was doing as part of my research
24 there. I've had the occasion to go back a number of
25 years afterwards and through my own field investigations
26 find out what I take to be reasonably accurate figures.
27 I mean, my own figures can't be dead accurate either.
28 I think they are as accurate as possible for an outsider
29 to make these estimates, in view of the various sources
30 that -- so that is -- I don't know if it answers

1 your question, but --

2 Q Well, it does in part.

3 I wonder if you made these surveys anywhere other than
4 Sachs Harbour?

5 A Yes. Coppermine,
6 Tuktoyaktuk, Holman, Paulatuk, not in the same detail
7 as I did at Sachs Harbour, well some of those communities
8 I did, but -- greater and lesser degree over a fairly
9 extended period of time and a fairly close scrutiny
10 of -- I guess also I'd have to -- yes, this is another
11 element that enters into my thinking and that is a
12 considerable amount of historical research that I
13 did chiefly related to Banks Island, but more generally
14 to the western Arctic. This is about eight or ten
15 years ago, in which I tried to establish how close
16 peoples memories served as a guide to -- you know, if
17 they told you that in 1929 or 1943 or something they
18 got so many foxes, I found it quite interesting to
19 in many, many instances, be able to go back to the
20 fur records and find that -- not the fur traders --
21 not the fur export records, but the general hunting
22 licence returns and find out that their memories were
23 remarkably accurate and in accordance with what they
24 had themselves marked down on a ^{plea of} paper 30 years before.

25 So this was by way of leading
26 me to believe that when people tell you that they
27 have obtained certain amount of game, presuming that
28 they trust your purposes in asking that question.

29 Q M-hm.

30 A That they'll give you a
pretty accurate response. Those are the kinds of
things that people remember pretty accurately.

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q Well now, when you
2 compiled table three, your country food harvest for
3 instance, did you take somebody's else's tables and
4 allow for a margin of error that you have found to
5 exist and come up with the figures you did? Or are
6 these based on your actual counts?

7 A A combination.

8 Q All right.

9 A I mean, I don't know if
10 I have all the documentation here that I could say that
11 this figure is based on one thing and the other figure
12 is based on another, but both of those.

13 Q Well, which of those
14 place had you made an actual count. I think it was
15 the year '73-'74?

16 A O.K. Let me think in
17 more detail about where these come from. The fur
18 harvests, as I have suggested in the report listed at
19 the back, are a pretty accurate record of how much
20 people actually caught. You have to make certain adjust-
21 ments depending on which records you use.

22 I mean, to give an example --

23 Q Well I'm not disputing
24 for a moment the fur harvest. It seems to me that they
25 are capable of greater --

26 A You want to look at the
27 food harvest then?

28 Q Yes.

29 A Sorry, that's --

It's table three that I

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 was dealing with.

2 O.K. Right. Table
3 three in particular, right?

4 Q Yes.

5 A Now, I would -- these
6 are combinations of looking at other people's estimates
7 of what people told me in the communities in response
8 to these kinds of questions either as in some cases
9 and I guess particularly at Sachs, it would be based on
10 an individual by individual count of what they got over
11 a year.

12 In other communities, partly
13 an individual count and partly an estimate by a number
14 of people as to what they thought the total would be.
15 In some cases, people estimating that on an average per
16 family they were going to get, you know, or they did
17 get so much. In some cases, official records, I think
18 the Game Management -- possibly for caribou some of
19 the figures are based at least on Game Management
20 estimates.

21 Q Well, I just noticed
22 they are all very nice round figures and I was --

23 A Well I round the figures
24 because I think that you know, it's very artificial to
25 put down an exact figure based on so many different
26 sources. I think that's misleading to do it and I
27 preferred to round them for that reason. You know, I'm
28 not going to sit here and tell you that exactly 1,250
29 caribou were taken in the delta. Nobody knows.

30 Q No, I am not suggesting

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 you are. Have you assigned any possible margin of
2 error to your figures?

3 A You mean whether I
4 think they are high or low?

5 Q Yes. If so, by what percent.

6 A No, I have tried to
7 figure out what the error sources are from the various
8 sources that I have used and then try and come up with
9 a figure which I have no reason to think is either
10 high or low but I don't know for sure. I mean, if I
11 thought it was an underestimate, I would have raised
12 it on the basis of my knowledge.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: But what
14 about if you are asked, would you say "1,250 give or
15 take 5%, 10%? Is there any sort of range of error
16 that you can see for your own figures?

17 A Yes. I would say that
18 for whales it's very small. For caribou it would be
19 slightly larger, maybe in the order of -- I don't know
20 -- 10% one way or another. For geese, I think that's
21 the error there could be rather larger. It could be
22 right off the top of my head, maybe 20%, 25% error.
23 Fish -- well, I don't know. For Banks Island and
24 Paulatuk, I think my estimates are reasonably close.
25 For the delta and Tuktoyaktuk, I am inclined to think
26 those, if anything, are underestimates.

27 But the sources, you know,
28 it's impossible really to be at everybody's neck when

29 There's so many different estimates
30 of what might be reasonable counts. It's very hard to

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 say. Those estimates for fish could be quite off but
2 I think if anything, they are conservative estimates
3 rather than overestimates.

4 Q Dr. Brody, you wanted
5 to add something?

6 WITNESS BRODY: Could I add
7 a word to this matter? Professor William Kemp's
8 work, he's at the University of McGill, hasn't been
9 mentioned so far I don't think at this Inquiry. He's
10 the only person I know of who has spent two years
11 accounting every item of food that was brought into
12 a fairly large camp. That is, he measured with the
13 hunters' agreement every single thing that they brought
14 in that was edible and was going to be eaten, including
15 the dog food.

16 Q Where was that?

17 A This was in Lake
18 Harbor in the south Baffin regions. What he discovered
19 was enormously high per capita takes. When he included
20 things like sculpins, rock cod, bird's egg -- all kinds
21 of bird's eggs -- things which people do not include
22 when they recall their hunting takes.

23 So what emerged from his
24 work -- it emerged by using his work that hunters in
25 that region tended to underestimate their food takes
26 very considerably indeed in the areas of fish and
27 birds. To be pretty dead accurate when it came to
28 caribou and larger sea mammals, not so accurate when
29 it came to seals. In some, it emerged that they tended
30 to under-recall the total food take in the camp. That's

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 the only piece of research I know which can be used
2 as an analogue evidence in relation to Peter's tables.

3 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: All right.

4 Well that brings me to another question. Dr. Usher
5 do your figures take into account the entire hunt?
6 Or do they take into account the portion of the hunt
7 that is going to be consumed and in fact is consumed?

8 WITNESS USHER: They take
9 into account what is, basically what is consumed. There
10 is not any -- oh, O.K. Let's see now. Basically what
11 is brought home, yes. This is what is brought home.
12 There is ordinarily not very much difference between
13 those two. There are certain ways that you can account
14 for that.

15 Q Well we hear stories
16 from time to time about piles of caribou being left out
17 to rot with only their tongues having been cut out
18 or their eyes having been cut out. Now I have no idea
19 of whether these tales are factual or not. But you
20 nevertheless hear them. I didn't know whether such
21 hunts or such kills were included in your figures
22 or not.

23 A No they are not. I
24 mean one hears these stories. I have no means of
25 corroborating them because in the times that I have
26 been out hunting with people I have never seen such
27 things happen. So I have no means of affirming that.
28 However, certainly the figures that I am giving here
29 is what is consumed. For example, seals and I guess
30 I don't have seals in here. That's very difficult to --

Reakhust, Usher, Brody
In Chief

1 you know, you lose seals by sinking and so on. That's
2 the difficulty in dealing with some of these figures
3 as well when you are compiling historical statistics.
4 But these figures here, that is what is consumed.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q That was the question
2 that you put to hunters, "How much caribou did you
3 eat last year and how much did you catch?"

4 A No, I put the question
5 how much did they catch because a guy brings home,
6 as far as I know, a person would bring home all his
7 caribou. He would have no reason to leave it out on
8 the land.

9 Q Does he consume everything
10 that he brings home?

11 A Yes, certainly. Well,
12 what do you mean "everything"? I can't swear that
13 there's never, you know, something left on somebody's
14 plate, but basically, you know, in other words if
15 you're asking me is there a discrepancy of a signifi-
16 cant order in figures like these, the answer is "No."

17 Q O.K. Now let's just
18 go into your method of evaluation.

19 A Pardon?

20 Q Let's just go for a
21 moment into your method of evaluation.

22 A Right.

23 Q And let me see if I have
24 understood it correctly. You opt for the substitution
25 method as being the only valid way to go because if
26 there wasn't any caribou, for instance, then a guy
27 has to go into a store and buy some beef.

28 A Right.

29 Q And so you've gone around
30 and you've taken the price of various cuts of meat --

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A M-hm.

2 Q -- in various locations.

3 The ones I notice are Inuvik, Aklavik and Tuk.

4 A M-hm.

5 Q Did you go to any other
6 places in arriving at your figure?

7 A No. This is for the
8 Western Arctic, and I think I mentioned that the
9 other two communities, Sachs Harbour and Paulatuk,
10 you don't buy cuts of meat in the store that would
11 have prices on them.

12 Q No, I'm not quarrelling
13 with you, I'm just asking --

14 A I'm just telling you
15 why those are the three communities.

16 THE COMMISSIONER: That would
17 so with Holman too, I take it.

18 A Well, I haven't been to
19 Holman in many years. Certainly when I was there, there
20 was no way that you'd find such a thing in the store.

21 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Q You then
22 decided that the replacement or the substitute meats
23 were about 2.50 to \$3. a pound.

24 A Right.

25 Q And that's an average
26 of some sort, I presume.

27 A Yes.

28 Q And you take the \$3,
29 figure, the upper end, and because of the higher pro-
30 tein count in an equivalent 100 grams of wild meat --

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A Right.

2 Q -- you gross this value
3 up by 50%.

4 A Yes.

5 Q To 4.50 a pound to
6 get your value of caribou. Is that how you did it?

7 A Pretty much, yes.

8 Q O.K., now how did you
9 average out to that price of 2.50 or \$3 a pound?

10 A That was pretty hard
11 to average out, you know. I mean this is -- I worked
12 on the assumption that the cuts, the way they were
13 sold -- most of the cuts that you see in the store
14 are the ones that people would actually eat off the
15 caribou, they're reasonably similar to the edible
16 portions of meat. In other words, I don't think you
17 can compare it to hamburger. You have to compare it,
18 I think, to the superior cuts of meat that are sold
19 in the store.

20 Q Well, that answer indi-
21 cates to me that only the superior cuts of caribou,
22 for instance, would be eaten by the village people,
23 and I don't think that's the case.

24 A Well, that's a very
25 subjective point of view. I personally think that
26 most cuts of caribou are superior to what you find
27 on beef anyway, so, you know --

28 Q All right. But that
29 doesn't --

30 MR. SCOTT: That's why he's

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 prepared to pay more for it.

2 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: That, with
3 respect, doesn't get down to the issue.

4 Q Is the entire caribou
5 eaten? I believe you told me that it pretty well is.

6 A Is the entire caribou
7 eaten?

8 Q Yes.

9 A Yes, pretty much, yes.

10 Q O.K.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
12 Excuse me for interrupting, but this just occurred to
13 me. Following up Mr. Hollingworth's line of reasoning,
14 there would be more intensive use of the carcass,
15 or whatever you call it, wouldn't there, than in the
16 case of beef? I've been in homes where the head
17 is in the soup pot and so on. That's not commonplace
18 in Vancouver. That indicates pretty intensive use
19 of the animal.

20 A Yes, and it also indicates
21 the cultural differences in comparing -- in ascribing
22 value to certain parts of the meat, because what you
23 might think is a wonderful cut of meat is what some-
24 body in one of the villages may say, "Well, that's
25 all right, but I much prefer the head or the eyeball
26 or something like that." Now you don't pay much for
27 eyeballs in the store down south. But people here
28 think they're really good, you know.

29 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Q That's
30 precisely it, Dr. Usher. You've taken what the white

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 man considers as superior cuts of meat, you've listed
2 them here on page -- Table 5, you've got:

3 "T-bone steak, rib steak, chuck steak."

4 Pretty fancy cuts, by our standards.

5 A Some of them are and
6 some of them aren't.

7 Q Well, they're a lot
8 fancier than hamburger.

9 A Well, sure, but hamburger
10 includes a very high, in most cases, a fairly high
11 fat content which we're not -- we're talking about
12 the protein content here.

13 Q All right, but I'm still
14 concerned about how you arrived at this 2.50-\$3. value,
15 and I see your cuts of meat here from Inuvik, Aklavik
16 and Tuk, in the retail stores, and they're the better
17 cuts, it seems to me. Now was it these figures you
18 used to get your 2.50 to \$3. average?

19 A Sure.

20 Q Well, won't you agree
21 with me that even in the south ^{if} a T-bone costs \$3, a
22 pound you could nevertheless buy a side of beef
23 for substantially less.

24 A My understanding is that
25 it doesn't work out to be all that much cheaper. How
26 much, for example?

27 Q How about 89¢ a pound,
28 which is what I just paid for a side of beef in Calgary?

29 A Well, you're sure
30 lucky. I'm talking about Aklavik and Inuvik. I mean

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 --

2 Q I realize that, sir.

3 I'll come to that later.

4 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.

5 A O.K.

6 Q You said you don't see
7 sides of beef there in Aklavik and Inuvik?

8 A Well, certainly not in
9 Aklavik and Tuk. I guess they must come into the
10 Hudson's Bay in Inuvik and are then sliced for
11 commercial consumption.

12 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Q But isn't
13 it a fact that people in INuvik can and do order sides
14 of beef?

15 A I'm not aware that
16 any native people do that.

17 Q That's beside the point
18 for the sake of our discussion, for the moment, Dr.
19 Usher. Isn't it a fact that that is done?

20 A I personally have never
21 met a person who did that but I'll take your word
22 for it that in fact -- well, it's certainly possible
23 and I assume that it's done, yes, I suppose. No reason
24 not to.

25 Q ^{if} But you're using the whole
26 caribou and coming up with a per pound figure,
27 shouldn't you for the sake of comparison take an entire
28 side of beef?

29 A Well, that's -- then
30 you'd have to look at it as to when it gets to the --

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 well, let me think about this now. There's a few
2 problems there, it seems to me. In argument, yes, first
3 of all it's obviously going to cost more in Inuvik,
4 and I don't know how much more.

5 Q Well let's for argument's
6 sake say the air freight from Calgary to Inuvik is
7 52¢, which it happens to be, add that to my 89¢ and
8 you're still a lot better off than 4.50 a pound.
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Reakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A It's not 450. I'm
2 sorry. I have to go back. It's 2.50 or 3.

3 Q Yes. All right.

4 MR. BAYLY: Mr. Commissioner,
5 is Mr. Hollingworth giving evidence that it costs
6 \$1.42 a pound or \$1.43 a pound for a side of beef
7 in Inuvik or where are we getting?

8 THE COMMISSIONER: Well he
9 says those are his instructions and let's proceed on
10 that footing. These things aren't quantifiable in
11 the -- down to the last detail. But Mr. Hollingworth
12 has raised a point which obviously Dr. Usher feels is
13 worthy of consideration.

14 A Sorry, let me get back
15 on track. I think you would have to -- I'd have to be
16 first of all a little more convinced about what that
17 side of beef really costs in Inuvik. I know it's
18 25¢ or -- how many cents did you say it was air freight
19 from Edmonton to Inuvik?

20 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: 52.

21 A 52. I also know that
22 there is a delivery charge. If you run out to the airport
23 and get it there it's 52 I suppose. I don't think it
24 is if you get it in town. You know, whether people
25 have the means to go out to the airport and get these
26 things and store them and cut them up and so on. Of
27 course they can cut up a caribou but that's usually
28 smaller than a side of beef. You know, I don't know
29 what the problems would be. You know, there are a lot
30 of considerations that go into cost. I am not suggesting

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 that -- you know, I have thrown out an idea for
2 evaluating something. I am quite willing to discuss
3 possible modifications to that. I am more looking
4 at the principle and you know, I have tried to suggest
5 that in fact it is very difficult to evaluate country
6 food. I am not saying that if I say, "well, you know,
7 every last piece of meat is worth \$4.50 a pound." Maybe
8 it's worth \$4.00. Maybe it's worth \$5.00 for some
9 reasons that I haven't thought of either.

10 I am merely trying to get
11 across some unappreciated factors in evaluating country
12 food.

13 Q Well yes Dr. Usher.
14 But you see, what you do ultimately is you take issue
15 with the applicants by saying later on by adding up
16 the values as you have arrived at them, you say that
17 country produce accounts for one-half of the realized
18 income in the delta in a given year.

19 A Yes. Well O.K. then --

20 Q I am concerned with
21 that point because I think perhaps your figures tend
22 to be a little on the high side. I am suggesting to
23 you this that you have taken what amount to the fancier
24 cuts. The cuts for which premium prices are charged
25 with respect to beef and you have come up with an
26 average price of beef. My suggestion to you is that
27 the average of beef on the basis of a side of beef
28 is substantially lower even in Inuvik and that therefore,
29 your value of caribou should not be \$4.50 a pound.
30 It should be substantially lower.

Beakhusht, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 A Well, I will have to
2 raise one difference with you on the matter of beef, and
3 that is that I think there is more waste on a cut
4 of beef -- on a side of beef -- than there is on a
5 caribou. I would think substantially more waste for
6 a reason that I have explained in the footnote on
7 table six. That the --

8 Q Yes, and I want to
9 discuss that with you later.

10 A O.K. Fine.

11 MR. BAYLY: Perhaps Dr.
12 Usher could be allowed to finish his answer.

13 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Yes, I
14 am sorry. I interrupted.

15 A O.K. Do you want to
16 ask me that question now in the knowledge of the
17 footnote or do you want me to read the footnote into
18 the record?

19 O Let's go on with your
20 answer.

21 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
22 You say whatever it is you intended to say.

23 A Sure. O.K. Basically
24 I think that there is more waste on a domestic cut
25 of meat. For one thing, you have a higher fat content
26 in the -- It's marbled.

27 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Yes.

28 A I am not sure of this.
29 I think that -- oh boy -- I have seen different
30 estimates you know. There's -- I have my own estimates

1 for the amount of usable meat on a carcass based on
2 to some extent, my own measurements. That is, of
3 cutting up caribou and weighing the component parts
4 comparing that to the total weight of the animal.
5 Also, based on some of the material in the literature
6 of what other people have done in this regard.

7 There is not a very big
8 literature on it you know. I have, as I think I
9 suggested in my evidence, the edible waste that I have
10 used may be off one way or another. You know, there are
11 a lot of sources of uncertainty in this.

12 Q No, I think you have
13 stated that very candidly. I am just going into one
14 area of what I consider to be uncertainty, and I am
15 inviting you to agree with me that possibly you made
16 the wrong comparison. You compared what are considered
17 prime cuts of beef to the entire side of a caribou.

18 A Well I have suggested
19 to you some reasons why I think it's rather -- you
20 could make that criticism but I think that it's rather
21 difficult to say what in fact it should be compared to
22 and I am not convinced that the side of beef is a
23 more appropriate comparison than what you characterize
24 as the choice cuts. It may be and it may not be. I
25 would have to sort of think about that for a while.
26 But I think that even if you did and even if you
27 revised my figures -- suppose you put red meat down
28 to \$4.00 instead of \$4.50. I don't think it is sub-
29 stantially -- it makes a substantial difference to
30 the figures that I suggested.

Beakhusht, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 THE COMMISSIONER: Well you
2 the
3 went from \$3.00 to \$4.50 on protein component.

4 A Right. Right. Which
5 in view of some of the stuff that I have read may be
6 on the conservative side.

7 Q No, you made that point.

8 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I'll come
9 to that in a moment, but you are not convinced that
10 you should compare a side of beef to a side of caribou.
11 You think that your comparison is more valid.

12 A I don't know whether it
13 is more valid but I would have to think pretty carefully
14 before I gave you a firm answer one way or another.

15 Q Well can you think about
16 that as you are in the course of the afternoon, if you
17 can't think of an answer now?

18 A I'm not sure.

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Think
20 about it during coffee. Maybe Commission Counsel will
21 bring a butcher in here as an expert witness and
22 butcher a caribou.

23 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED FOR A FEW MINUTES)
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Breakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 (PROCEEDINGS RESUMED PURSUANT TO ADJOURNMENT)

2 THE COMMISSIONER: Right.

3 Well, let's come to order, shall we, ladies and
4 gentlemen ? Carry on.

5 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Q I under-
6 stand Dr. Usher has something he'd like to say before
7 we continue, sir.

8 WITNESS USHER: I've done a
9 bit of thinking on the question that Mr. Hollingworth
10 has posed to me and I think I'll make a few remarks about
11 it. First of all, when I made those estimates for
12 what the substitutes might be, as I arbitrarily perhaps
13 said, "O.K., I'm going to look at what is available
14 now as a substitute," and what they sell in the stores,
15 especially in places like Aklavik and Tuk, are not
16 sides of beef. They sell these kinds of cuts at these
17 kinds of prices. Now, if one were in the business of
18 figuring out, "Well, if we really had to get around
19 to substituting these things," well, yes, I think
20 different methods would be used. Then we go into
21 a different matter, so that's the reason that I
22 chose that and I accepted if you looked at the problem
23 in a different way perhaps you could say, "Well, the
24 side of beef is an appropriate substitute."

25 I would also point out some
26 built-in underestimates to the value that I have
27 given here, even if I have knowledge that if you
28 change the line of argument that the side of beef might
29 be appropriate, one is that I think that the table
30 that I used for protein substitutes, to get a handle

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 on the idea of the difference in protein. It's based
2 on a variety of sources and I tried to be pretty
3 careful with that because I talked about it with a
4 friend who pointed that out to me, that one particular
5 table that I first used in my own calculations and he
6 said "Well, you better be careful with that because
7 there are other ways of looking at this," and so on,
8 and in fact comparing even those protein comparisons
9 to even decide how you compare the cut from one
10 animal to another is a bit dicey.

11 So some people might estimate
12 higher. One of the people who has done some work in
13 this area will in fact be one of our witnesses later
14 on, that's Dr. Schafer, and he might have something
15 else to say about this general matter, because he
16 points also to other nutritional differences between
17 country foods and domestic ones which I don't feel
18 competent to talk about. You know, I've read that
19 in his stuff and perhaps he'll comment on it.

20 I also mentioned that there
21 are other portions of the animal which are used. For
22 example in the case of caribou, a lot of people keep
23 the skins for bedding. I did not use that in my
24 calculations and I suggest that the total value of
25 that kind of by-product which I did not deliberately
26 include in my estimates was probably not more than 10%
27 of the total. So it's the kind of thing, O.K., if
28 you knock it down 10% here, you can take it up 10%
29 in another area, and I think I'd have to stick by
30 these figures on that basis, even if we are -- you

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 know, I'm quite prepared to quibble over the details
2 but I think as a general estimate this is quite
3 reasonable.

4 Q So you didn't take into
5 account the possibility that if there wasn't country
6 food available it would be likely that whole sides
7 of beef would become available in northern communi-
8 ties. Infact the price might come down because of
9 increasing volume.

10 A Well, no, I didn't take
11 that into account. The only thing I did take into
12 account is, I believe I said in my evidence, was that
13 if we got into that kind of a business it remains to
14 be seen whether there is a long-term basis for ensuring
15 that that kind of supply meat come into this country.
16 I'm not convinced of that.

17 Q Well, that's even more
18 conjectural than --

19 A Certainly it's conjectur-
20 al, but when you get into the whole business of, you
21 know, you pose a hypothetical case in which we
22 have to start importing sides of beef and that is
23 certainly a hypothetical case as well, so perhaps
24 it's no use to speculate on either one.

25 Q Now, with this Table 6
26 you point out, for instance, there are 16 grams of
27 protein per 100 grams of edible portion of beefsteak
28 and the corresponding figure for caribou is 26.

29 A M-hm.

30 Q You then say down below:

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 "The wild and domestic meat sampled may not
2 be directly comparable. The literature
3 suggests, for example, that the protein content
4 of lean beef is nearly as great as of caribou
5 or moose. In general, however, domestic meat
6 has a higher fat content both within the
7 muscle tissue and as a portion of the total
8 animal."

9 So I take it that notwithstanding that note, you've
10 stuck with the figures that you've used up above
11 to arrive at your grossed up value for caribou.

12 A Well, yes, the reasoning
13 there is that when you're looking at what are generally
14 classed as edible portions of animal, there is a certain
15 mix of meat and fat, and what I'm suggesting here is
16 that the proportion of fat on a domestic animal is
17 a greater -- is greater than on a wild animal.

18 Q Well --

19 A When you're looking at
20 the total edible proportion.

21 Q -- but then you just
22 finished telling us that when you arrived at the
23 price of domestic beef, you used the better cuts.

24 A No, I didn't say I used
25 the better cuts. I used the cuts that were most
26 generally available in the stores. People can buy
27 hamburger. I don't think I've ever eaten hamburger
28 in a native person's house. I don't know who buys
29 the hamburger there.

30 Q With respect, sir, the

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 question of whether it's used by the natives or not
2 is immaterial. You're assigning values here on compar-
3 able or what you state to be comparable cuts of
4 domestic and wild animals.
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Now, yes, you could change the argument and say, let's look at the hypothetical situation in which, in a general way there was no country food available and therefore they have to substitute it with something else. I'll acknowledge in that situation you'd have to make different calculations. I'm looking at what peoples effective income is right now in terms of what's available.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q All right. Now, let's
2 just go back to that question I asked you some time
3 ago now. You've suggested that the protein content of
4 beef steak is 16 gram s per 100 gram s of edible portion.
5 Now, is that the same beef steak that you've priced out
6 in table five?

7 A 16 gram s, okay, just a
8 minute. Well, you know that's difficult to say because
9 unfortunately in the literature, they don't -- you know,
10 you could -- I forget the technical name for the instru-
11 ment in which they measure the calorie and protein and
12 so on, in a -- in food. But the problem, and this is
13 where I admit that these figures are somewhat conjectural,
14 is that you don't know what that cut is. Somebody says
15 they -- in the literature, that there's a cut of beef
16 steak that they measured, we don't know exactly what
17 that cut looked like. I can't tell you whether that's
18 the same cut that was measured, -- you know, that I
19 saw in a store in Aklavik. You know, every piece of
20 meat that you look at in the supermarket has different
21 qualities to it. People always look at their meat when
22 they buy it, they don't just sort of go in and --

23 Q Well, all right. Let me
24 just finish it off by asking you this, where did you
25 get these protein figures?

26 A I would have to look
27 at the footnotes for the paper that's listed on the
28 back, evaluating country food.

29 Q It would be set out in
30 there though, would it?

1 A It would be set out in
2 there. There's several sources. I'd say the chief
3 ones are material that I have from Otto Schafer and
4 the others are a series of papers that were done by
5 some people at McMaster -- not at McMaster, at McDonald
6 College in the Agricultural Department. McDonald
7 College at McGill.

8 A A series of papers that were
9 done, measuring the value of country food. The only
10 other thing I can remember in the literature, which
11 I didn't use directly, but I believe is Dr. Schafer's
12 source, was a study that was done in the early '60's
13 in Alaska and that, as far as I know is about the limits
14 of the literature on the nutrient value of country
15 food.

16 Q Okay, now you say that

17 A Sorry-- Bill Kemp has
18 done work? Okay, I'm well --

19 Q You say country food
20 never enters the market economy.

21 A I don't say that it
22 never enters the market economy. I think that it's
23 rare. It's the exception rather than the rule.

24 Q I'm just reading it
25 literally on the top of page seven.

26 A Second is the problem of
27 evaluating domestic produce, that is computing a
28 cash value to country food which never enters the
29 market economy.

30 A That portion of country

1 food produced which never -- you see, if it's domestically
2 consumed, then by definition it doesn't enter the
3 market economy.

4 Q All right, but you're
5 not saying that there isn't a market where country
6 food is available?

7 A There are some markets,
8 certainly, yes. But when you look at the total volume
9 of produce, very little is sold commercially, that's
10 what I'm saying.

11 Q But isn't that -- wouldn't
12 that be of some assistance to you in arriving at the
13 values that you've attributed to say, caribou?

14 A No, and I've explained
15 that in more detail in here as to why it isn't.

16 Q Why isn't it?

17 A Can you be a little more
18 specific in your question? You're asking me why --

19 THE COMMISSIONER: Let me ask
20 you a question.

21 A Okay.

22 Q There's a business run
23 by Mr. Allen in Inuvik, I think I'm right in saying
24 this.

25 A Right.

26 Q Sells country food.

27 A Right.

28 Q To people who want to
29 buy country food, I think that's what it's all about.

30 Now, I don't know how long

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 he's been in business, but if you were to go there and
2 see the price that he charges for caribou per pound,
3 it might have a bearing on these estimations. Maybe
4 it would, maybe it wouldn't. What do you say about
5 that?

6 A Well, yes, okay, because
7 that's the most obvious example, I think, to choose
8 in the western Arctic. That is the greatest volume --

9 Q That's the only one I
10 can think of.

11 A Yes, although fish is
12 sold, I think some of the co-ops -- Holman and Paulatuk
13 and so on sell some char and I'm not sure what all the
14 going rates are. I do know what the going rates are
15 for reindeer in Inuvik and they're in the order of--

16 Q Well, that's sold from
17 the herd is it?

18 A Yes, it is sold -- you
19 see, it goes through -- there's a selling price that
20 the herder charges, then there's a mark-up that Victor
21 Allen would take in his sale, and you buy that by the
22 -- you know, like a forequarter or a hindquarters of
23 reindeer. It's not like going into a shop and buying
24 it. Now, if you were to go into a shop and buy cuts
25 of that, butchered cuts of that, I suppose there'd
26 be another mark-up.

27 The price of that is in the
28 order of \$1.00 or \$1.10, a \$1.25 a pound depending on
29 circumstances. The reason that I don't like to use
30 that as a substitute figure is that at this point, and

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 it's only quite recently that there was a time -- oh
2 gosh, about ten years ago you could buy reindeer
3 commercially in the Bay in Inuvik, then, of course,
4 it went off the market for some time. You couldn't
5 get reindeer commercially, and recently it has become
6 available, and before I used that as a -- confidently
7 used that as a reasonable figure for a substitution
8 value, I'd like to be sure that it was widely available
9 and permanently available and I'd have to be sure that
10 the pricing, based on some business experience over
11 a length of time was a realistic price, that in fact
12 wasn't something that we might find next year in some-
13 one starting out in this business had to recalculate
14 and change their price. So, I'd be very hesitant to
15 use that kind of a price as a substitute value at
16 this time.

17 Now, if in five years it
18 should turn out that reindeer had become widely avail-
19 able, there's more than enough for everybody and it's
20 sold at substantially lower prices than beef is at
21 the stores, then I would say, by all means revise these
22 figures downward.

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 Q May I ask you another
2 thing? At the Yellowknife Inn, and I think at the
3 Eskimo Inn in Inuvik, you can get a caribou steak
4 on the menu in both those places, but for the life of
5 me I can't remember whether the price is the same or
6 not.

7 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, I
8 can tell you that at the Eskimo Inn, caribou steak is
9 substantially cheaper than beefsteak. How do you
10 account for that?

11 A How do I account for it?
12 Well, I'd have to give you a personal opinion, and that
13 is that I would never order country food in a restaur-
14 ant. I would far rather cook it myself. They don't
15 know how to cook it, for heaven's sake. I'm not being
16 flip here, first of all I don't always like it. I
17 look at other people's plates when they order caribou
18 steak in the Eskimo Inn, and I think, "Gee, I'm glad
19 I didn't order that."

20 Q Your personal view has got
21 nothing to do with it.

22 What about the fact that
23 you can get caribou from Victor Allen too?

24 A I wasn't aware of that.
25 Can you?

26 Q You most definitely can.

27 A Oh.

28 Q And I suggest to you
29 that it sells for \$1.50 a pound.

30 A I don't doubt it. I
don't doubt it, but again it's not clear to me that

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 this is -- there are so many other factors entering
2 into that. First of all, there's a very limited
3 amount of caribou that's being sold on the market.
4 You know, there's a quota system on the amount of
5 caribou that can enter the market, and that just
6 does not seem to me that a commodity which is so
7 controlled like that in --

8 MR. SCOTT:

Mr. Commissioner --

9 A -- whose production is
10 regulated, I don't see how that can be a free market
11 item. I don't see how you can use that as a test
12 commodity for a market price.

13 MR. SCOTT: Mr. Commissioner,

14 I don't want to interrupt Mr. Hollingworth but
15 I'm going to anyway. Is there any point in pursuing
16 this? It seems to me that we're not at all concerned
17 with the price at which caribou sells. We're concerned
18 if anything with the price that replacement food
19 will sell for.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

21 MR. SCOTT: And if caribou
22 were given away, it wouldn't make my friend's
23 argument, and it seems to me it is all beside the
24 point. Interesting, but --

25 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, I
26 don't agree with Mr. Scott, and I've certainly for-
27 borne from interrupting some of his cross-examination
28 which it seemed to me wasn't going anywhere either.
29 But it seems to me that if you're going to set a
30 value, which is what Dr. Usher has done, on caribou

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 then most definitely what it's selling for now has
2 some bearing on the whole situation. Now he's assigned
3 a value to it, that is three times what Mr. Allen
4 charges for it here and now in Inuvik.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, that's
6 a point that you can make in argument, and I certainly
7 think the thrust of your cross-examination is apparent
8 to all of us here, and go ahead. I see Mr. Scott's
9 point, though. He's saying if a man was working for
10 wages and had to buy meat, and there was no caribou,
11 then what would he have to pay for the meat? That's
12 where we started out and I'm not suggesting that the
13 price of caribou currently in Inuvik or anywhere else
14 isn't relevant, but Mr. Scott has a point that
15 we should bear in mind, too.

16 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Well, yes,
17 but I think that Dr. Usher's whole thesis was that
18 if a man was working for wages he wouldn't be going
19 out to get caribou and therefore the choice left to
20 him is beef as a substitute. But the fact that
21 caribou seems to be available commercially --

22 THE COMMISSIONER : Well, yes,
23 I think the subject's been pretty well exhausted.

24 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: O.K.

25 THE COMMISSIONER: You don't
26 think so, Dr. Usher?

27 A No, it seems quite
28 exhausted to me. I don't know what else I could say
29 about it. I'm getting exhausted.

30 MR. HOLLINGWORTH: Q Well,

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 there's one last point I just want to make out of
2 last
3 that statement. You rejected my suggestion that the
4 price of a side of beef would be more appropriate
5 because as of now sides of beef aren't sold in the
6 area that you've considered.

7 A That's right, so I don't
8 know what the market price of sides of beef are in
9 Inuvik. Until I know that--

10 Q you've projected,
11 But using caribou sales
12 made by Victor Allen in Inuvik, because they might
13 not go on into the future.

14 A No, I'm trying to
15 figure out what is an appropriate substitute, and
16 I know that what is generally available in the stores
17 is imported meats. Now, I know that recently some
18 wild food is on sale in Inuvik. It is not always
19 available. You can't rely on being able to buy it
20 at any time that you wish. I think that the --
21 as I suggested, it's not clear to me that the prices
22 that are charged for those meats are anything that we
23 can rely on in a long-term sense. In other words I
24 think if we wanted to stretch this analysis, you
25 know, three years back and three years forward, I would
26 rather rely on the present price of imported meats in
27 the store as an indicator of what the prices are for
28 substitute prices, than this year's price for reindeer
29 which may be on the market for the first time. I don't
30 know whether that's the price -- who knows whether
that's a realistic price at this point.

That's the point I'm trying

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 to make. I think if anything, it suggests the difficulty
2 of arriving at these kinds of figures, and I guess
3 what I was really -- I know you're concerned about
4 the fact that I've suggested that this means a certain
5 proportion of the economy. I'm also concerned about
6 the fact that in all the studies that I've seen to
7 date, these kinds of figures are very glibly
8 thrown around as to what they are, and I think
9 they've been
10 dead wrong and I think we ought to look at some of
the reasons why.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Leaving that
12 for a moment, can I ask you this? Maybe you mentioned
13 it but let me just ask you again.

14 Mr. Rushforth in his
15 study of the bush economy at Fort Franklin, said that
16 in the last five years there was no indication that
17 participation in the bush economy was declining. Now
18 what about the Western Arctic? Is it appropriate
19 to make a similar observation? Is it declining? Is it
20 increasing, or do you know?

21 A My reading of what
22 statistical material was available to me, and on my
23 personal knowledge you know, just sort of talking
24 to people and living around there and generally
25 absorbing what goes on, is that the low point was
26 reached some time in the '60s, and that I think
27 that both participation and production have gone up.
28 I wouldn't say it was a tremendous increase, by any
29 means, and I think that I would have to have a longer
30 historical set of statistics before I would really

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by Hollingworth

1 want to make very strong generalizations. All I can
2 say is there seems to be an indication in the last
3 five years, perhaps, that it's on the rise. Where
4 that's going, to what degree, I don't know if I
5 should really speculate.

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Q O.K.

MR. HOLLINGWORTH: I have no more questions.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. Steeves?

MR. STEEVES: I have no questions sir.

MR. SCOTT: Mr. MacQuarrie?

THE COMMISSIONER: Well welcome Mr. MacQuarrie and just relax and enjoy yourself.

MR. MacQUARRIE: I have been asked by the Mental Health Association to represent them this afternoon.

MR. STEEVES: I suggest that if he does as well ^{as} Mrs. MacQuarrie, it would be very well indeed.

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, I think that's a fair comment.

CROSS-EXAMINATION BY MR. MacQUARRIE:

Q As a representative of the Mental Health Association and as an individual, I would like to stress right away that I appreciate the concern of these gentlemen very much for the various social disruptions that are likely to occur, that have occurred already and that are likely to occur as a result of development.

I certainly concur with their intention to ensure that a just settlement for the native people is finally achieved. But in reading the background material and I have not had the opportunity to read as much of it as I would like, but

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 nevertheless on what I have read, I find what I feel
2 are some misconceptions that actually don't promote
3 a just settlement but undermine it. I would like to
4 address myself to some of that background material
5 because I feel that it is very important.

6 I think first of all that
7 I noticed Mr. Brody used the term "ilira" which he
8 suggests is --

9 WITNESS BRODY: What term?

10 What term?

11 Q It's spelled i-l-i-r-a.

12 A Oh, ilira.

13 Q Yes and that it
14 represents a kind of fear that is comprised of awe
15 and intimidation and I don't doubt that that exists
16 because I am experiencing a little bit of that myself
17 right now. Yet the interesting thing is although I
18 experience it, no one here has ever done anything wrong
19 to me. So, it's kind of an irrational fear if you
20 know what I mean. Nobody is threatening me and yet
21 I feel that.

22 I think it's important to
23 get to the bottom of that feeling because it seems to
24 me that it is your case and please correct me if I
25 am wrong, that ilira is at the bottom of a lot of the
26 changes that have taken place in the north. Is that
27 correct.

28 A At the bottom of a lot
29 of changes that have taken place in the north. Certainly
30 not. Evidence for a whole kind of change that has

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 taken place, certainly. To suggest that a feeling
2 somehow was at the bottom of historical change would be
3 to put myself into a very idealistic theory of history,
4 the very kind of theory which I want to separate myself
5 from or combat. So I think you will have to frame your
6 questions slightly differently.

7 Q Very well, would you
8 say that it was a catalyst then in the situation that --

9 A It's certainly not a
10 catalyst. It's a reflection of the situation. The
11 situation is going on and you have people talking about
12 the situation. If you look at the way in which they
13 talk about it, you understand what that situation means
14 to them. The word "ilira" is important in that context.

15 Q Did that kind of fear
16 induce in your opinion, Eskimo people to accept change
17 from time to time?

18 A It induced people to say
19 "yes" when they didn't want to say "yes".

20 Q Precisely, that's the
21 point that I wanted to make. In other words, they
22 sometimes because of that feeling, accepted things
23 that they wouldn't otherwise have accepted.

24 A They went through
25 accepting behavior.

26 Q O.K. The next point
27 that I have to make is what is it that induces that
28 feeling in people? Would you say that generally --
29 was because of -- generally speaking, I am not talking
about isolated incidents, but generally speaking, it was

Breakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 because of violence and treachery on the part of those
2 who confronted the native people of the north? Or
3 was it for some other reason?

4 A Well it would take me
5 a long time to catalogue it I think. I would like to
6 refer you back to the paper I read this morning. It
7 seems somehow to have passed you by a bit. But let
8 me restate some of it. It in fact seems necessary.

9 The point is that policemen,
10 missionaries, traders and others came into the north
11 and asserted their will. They enforced their wishes
12 on people because people were in a particular economic
13 relationship to the institutions that those newcomers
14 represented. It was a relationship of acute dependence.
15 In virtue of that economic relationship, the dependence
16 relationship, these newcomers, specifically the traders
17 I mentioned in my submission this morning -- specifically
18 the trader periodically if not often had the power of
19 life and death over trappers -- people who had turned
20 into trappers.

21 The difference perhaps between
22 you and them is that I don't think there is anyone
23 in this room who has the power of life and death over
24 you or is likely to in the future -- the judge excepted
25 perhaps. It's certainly not part of the structure of
26 your socio-economic position that there are people with
27 whom you have to deal every day who are likely to have
28 the power of life and death over you. The feeling of
29 ilira is to do with that kind of situation. It is
30 not the sort of situation you talk about when you stand

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 up here and feel a bit ilira. I am sure if an Eskimo
2 speaker was to stand up here now, he would feel deeply
3 ilira but that is to obscure the whole issue to
4 somehow assimilate your experience and your emotional
5 situation to that of the Eskimo hunter turned to trapper
6 who has a terrible dependence on and terrible vulnerabili-
7 ty to these extremely powerful newcomers.

8 Q O.K. So you say then
9 that that feeling did not exist obviously when the
10 first traders and missionaries came. Is that right?

11 A I would not want to
12 say the word did not exist but that situation did not
13 exist and therefore certain kinds of feelings probably
14 did not generally speaking exist.

15 Q Therefore, the earliest
16 acceptance of change would have come as a result of
17 choice -- of value choice. Would you agree there?

18 A I am sorry. Can you
19 say that again? I didn't --

20 Q Therefore the very
21 earliest acceptance of change would have come as a
22 result of value choice --

23 A Value choice --

24 Q Not awe or intimidation
25 particularly.

26 A The earliest choices --
27 or the very earliest changes are not choices. The
28 earliest changes are matters of economics and social
29 organization. They are to do with how people earn a
30 living.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q Not at all. Choice is
2 involved when the first trader came to a group of
3 Eskimo and offered something to them. If they didn't
4 have that fear, why did they accept it? :

5 A Oh, because the first
6 trader came with a gun and came with goods that Eskimos
7 and other native peoples really wanted and were very
8 useful.

9 THE COMMISSIONER: "They
10 came with a gun", that gun being a trade --

11 MR. MacQUARRIE:

12 Q But not something to
13 threaten them with. Not something to threaten them
14 but something they saw valuable. You concede that?

15 A Yes.

16 Q Do you concede that it
17 was something they valued and so they accepted that?

18 A Oh yes, of course.

19 Q This feeling then of
20 intimidation arose subsequently.

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1 A Because they, by virtue
2 of accepting changes, that the newcomers brought, which
3 they recognize as useful and necessary, they entered
4 into a new kind of economic relationship to the outsiders.
5 That's what I'm trying to get at, it's a process with
6 a number of steps in it.

7 Q Yes, and so they were
8 confronted then with a great variety of technology
9 and institutions and social relations which were new
10 and different?

11 A Initially not a great
12 variety, initially just one or two important ones.

13 Q All right, I'll retract
14 the word initially, right.

15 Eventually they were and in
16 the face of these, did they have power to deal with
17 them adequately, in other words, did they comprehend all
18 the institutions that they confronted and so on?

19 A Well, I don't know, I
20 wasn't there at the time. I suspect they probably --

21 Q You said a lot about other
22 things that you weren't there at the time as well.

23 A Yes, I suspect that
24 they probably didn't.

25 Well, you're talking about
26 a period now which lies before historical records,
27 really. You're talking about the first whaling ships,
28 guns, it's worth saying, guns reached communities before
29 the traders. Guns arrived before the white man as
30 did metal and other goods. There's a sense in which

1 Eskimos and Indians became dependent on southerners
2 before they'd even met them, especially in the far
3 north.

4 Q Very well, I believe
5 that the feeling of ilira is one that is quite normal
6 to people everywhere who are confronted with new and
7 different situations because we don't -- we never wish
8 to appear foolish in the eyes of other people and
9 consequently, we tend to defer and we tend to keep
10 silent, only until we have confidence that comes from
11 knowledge of those situations, is that a fair appraisal
12 or not?

13 A Well, I think, and with
14 all due respect, we're still talking about different
15 emotions, different feelings. The kind of feeling
16 you have which means you don't speak for fear of
17 making a fool of yourself, which is the kind of
18 feeling you first referred to in your question, is not
19 the kind of feeling that I'm talking about, though
20 it may be a component. You cannot explain the course
21 of northern history, you can't explain the predicament
22 of northern native people by looking at the kind of
23 feeling they have about standing up and talking in
24 front of strangers, though, that is a component.

25 Something much larger, it's
26 something much more to do with fundamental social and
27 economic realities. When you start talking about
28 those, then I think we'll be talking about the same
29 meaning of the word ilira.

30 Q Well, not entirely, because

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 one of your statements says that they were told to
2 do various things by missionaries and traders and so
3 on and so my question to you would be, what induced
4 them to do what they were told to do?

5 A You hurtled along the
6 historical slide.

7 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, it
8 isn't necessary for you to comment on each -- on Mr.
9 MacQuarries's, the reasons why he may be asking these
10 things. Just comment on the point raised because these
11 are worth considering and take your time.

12 A Yes. The question is--
13 restate the question again and then I'll --

14 MR. MacQUARRIE: Well, you do
15 state in your presentation that they were told by
16 various people to do certain things and they did them.
17 I'm simply asking you what induced them to do those
18 things?

19 A When I talk about people
20 being told to do things by traders and missionaries,
21 I'm not talking about a historical time at which the
22 native people have already become crucially dependent
23 upon those outsiders. They don't, at that point, do
24 what they're told out of choice or because somehow they
25 think it might be a nice idea to accommodate these
26 strangers. They do it because by that time they are
27 already intimidated and one of the key aspects of the
28 translation of the word ilira has to do with intimidation.

29 Q Yes, I understand that,
30 could you just briefly explain how that arises then,

1 that intimidation?

2 A I thought I'd explained
3 that earlier. The thing is that these newcomers,
4 specifically the traders had the power of life and
5 death over people, periodically if not often, therefore
6 they were intimidating, but they -- an Eskimo who
7 went to a trader and knew he would at some point in
8 the future have to go to a trader and ask for credit
9 is not likely to tell the trader he doesn't want to
10 do something the trader tells him and since the traders,
11 the missionaries and the policemen constituted a
12 unified block vis-a-vis the Eskimos and very often
13 the traders would go to the policemen and send them
14 up to the Eskimo to tell them to do something and
15 the churchmen would sometimes send the policemen and
16 sometimes the missionary would send the trader and
17 so on, the representation of southern wishes was a
18 single thing, therefore the kind of threat, the kind
19 of dependence that is embodied in the trader, trapper
20 relationship is carried through all the relationships
21 with these newcomers.

22 Q All right, perhaps we
23 can get to more specifics by choosing a specific instance.
24 You mentioned that you had conversations with parents
25 whose children were supposed to go off to school
26 and when you talked with these parents about this
27 particular thing, the parents -- many of them said
28 that they would rather have said no, but they said
29 yes, and you do agree that the feeling we were talking
30 about was present in those situations.

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A Yes. I think -- I hope
2 you have an opportunity to see the film that will
3 probably be shown tomorrow about North Baffin Island,
4 in which this very matter is discussed at some length
5 by some parents. They talk about the feeling they had.
6 What they say is, we wanted to say no, but we were
7 intimidated little things, that's as near a little
8 translation as I can get to.

9 Q Okay, I will try to
10 get to whether the intimidation came from individuals
11 intimidating them or situations. Did you ask the
12 parents at that time--you did ask them what they
13 thought about their children going off to school--
14 did you ask them whether they wanted their children
15 for instance, to learn English?

16 A Oh yes.

17 Q What was the answer to
18 that?

19 A They said at that time,
20 no. They didn't want them to go away at all.

21 Q When was this? Not to
22 go away, no, no. To learn English specifically. Would
23 they like their children to have facility in the
24 English language, did you ask that question?

25 A Yes I did, and at that
26 time they were not. This is the 1950's, I'm talking
27 about the older people, when the schooling programme
28 was first sent in, they were not particularly interested
29 in their children in learning English, though they
30

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 rapidly became convinced or were persuaded that their
2 children ought to learn English and of course here --

Q What time was this?

3 A This would be late into the '50's or
4 the early '60's. Certainly by the late '60's, most
5 people, and I would argue in the eastern Arctic, as
6 far as my experience goes, were persuaded that really
7 their young people ought to learn English, and actually,
8 they are no longer quite so persuaded.

9 Q Ought to learn it, and
10 why?

11 A Because they felt that
12 power somehow was to do with speaking English, that
13 dealing with whites would be made more easy if they
14 spoke English.

15 Q They might have access
16 to a source of power if they spoke English.

17 A Oh, nobody said that
18 to me, no.

19 Q They weren't interested
20 in acquiring power in their lives?

21 A As far as the people
22 I know--

23 Q I don't mean political
24 power, I mean personal power, were they not interested
25 in that?

26 A They would be less
27 frightened of whites, I think is the way they would
28 put it. That if you can speak English, if you can
29 talk to them then perhaps you will get on with them
30 and if you can get on with them, then perhaps the

1 whites can understand what your point of view is and
2 what your needs and feelings are and if the whites
3 understand what your point of view is and what your
4 needs and feelings are, then you're more likely to
5 get the kind of things you need and life will be
6 generally better.

7 Q All right, that is one
8 interpretation, but I think it is the only one. I
9 think that if you were to ask many Inuit people whether
10 they in fact wanted that, and this would be a number
11 of years ago, as I did myself, although not in 1950's
12 I concede, you would find that the answer to that
13 question is yes. Would you want them to be proficient
14 in calculation skills, the answer is yes to these
15 questions.
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Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A Just a moment. A
2 correction on what you said before. What I was saying
3 was not interpretation. It was an account of what most
4 people said to me.

5 Q It was an interpretation
6 I would say of why people were acceding to learning
7 English and so on.

8 A Why people wanted to
9 learn English was explained to me by parents who agreed
10 in the end that perhaps their children should learn
11 English. What I said was the kind of things that they
12 said to me.

13 Q O.K. Are -- I would
14 gather you didn't ask them "Do you want your children
15 to be happy" because that answer is about as obvious
16 as asking them if they wanted to be separated from their
17 children, you know, to be taken to school. I know nobody
18 likes the latter and everybody wants the former. They
19 want their children to be happy. Are you sure that some
20 of the fear that they felt when they said, "Yes, take
21 my children to school" rather than "no" as they wanted
22 to say, was not a fear that if they didn't say "yes" that
23 their own children would suffer as a result and wind
24 up being unhappy, because they would be by-passed in
25 certain things that they could see themselves conferred
26 power in their lives. That's what brings happiness.
27 It's the ability to achieve the things that you value.

28 A Certainly not. No one
29 ever said that to me.

30 Q Not at all?

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A No.

2 Q They weren't interested in
3 letting their children achieving that.

4 A No, that's not the
5 way they conceived it at that time. They were living
6 in camps 100, 150 miles away from settlements.

7 Q O.K. I must assume
8 that you agree that sometimes choices are mutually
9 exclusive, that you cannot choose to climb a mountain
10 and at the same time choose to remain in the valley.
11 You do one or the other. You can't do both.

12 A I would agree with that,
13 yes.

14 Q Thank you very much.
15 O.K. Now, when they were adopting particular things
16 which they valued -- now I guess it would be a point of
17 contention whether they valued them or whether they
18 were intimidated into choosing them, but I would not
19 choose to insult them that way. I believe that when they
20 made choices, they were choices because they valued
21 rather than because they were intimidated.

22 A I think the greatest
23 insult that you can hand out to someone is not taking
24 seriously what they say to you. What people said to
25 me was that they were intimidated.

26 Q Well I know it's very
27 important to take what people say but it is also very
28 important to observe what they do, because in the final
29 analysis, that is what proves value.

30 A In the final analysis

Headmist, Fisher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 people perhaps do what they have to do or what they
2 have no choice about.

3 Q Yes I am coming to that
4 in your presentation later. You use in your presentation
5 the word "obstacles" in a rather strange way.

6 A What page are we on here?

7 Q Page seven I think that
8 is obstacles -- extreme obstacles and so on.

9 A Are you talking about
10 the --

11 Q Yes, the way I understand
12 it, you sort of imply that the existence of warm homes --

13 A I'm sorry I still haven't
14 found these obstacles. Are you talking about the
15 overview paper -- the paper this morning?

16 THE COMMISSIONER: It is
17 the one that begins with the sentence with "ilira".

18 MR. MacQUARRIE: At the
19 bottom of page seven, for me it says "immense obstacles" --

20 A Oh yes, I am with you.

21 Q -- were placed in the
22 way of any who might have preferred... Now I
23 believe that that's rather a strange use of the word
24 "obstacles". You know, health care, warm homes and
25 this sort of thing. Are these the obstacles that you
26 were referring to, that people could not choose the
27 traditional way anymore because these were available to
28 them.

29 A Are you speaking about
30 homes?

Peakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q Well what were the
2 immense obstacles that you are specifically referring
3 to then? What obstacles were there in their way to
4 returning to a way of life which you assert they valued
5 more?

6 A Continuing a way of life.

7 Q Or continuing.

8 A -- rather than returning
9 to.

10 Q What were the obstacles?

11 A Obstacle one, which is
12 a general one, is going against what the whites in
13 the neighborhood were telling them to do and that's
14 a pretty big obstacle given the ilira business I have
15 been talking about.

16 Obstacle two is the kind of
17 poverty that resulted from trying to pursue that life
18 as a result of policy decisions and governmental
19 strategies in the north at that time. No support
20 was given to people who tried to live off the land.
21 The price of furs had gone down. It was extremely
22 unstable anyway but was very low. They needed to have
23 cash support.

24 A third obstacle lay in
25 terms of the sickness problem. By that time, the
26 communities I am talking about were experiencing acute
27 sickness problems, desperate epidemics of flu decimating
28 -- literally decimating -- some of the camps. T.B.
29 endemic in the interior ^{area} of the Hudson's Bay region,
30 one in three households had a chronic T.B. case in 1958.

Beakhus, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 This is exactly the time when they pushed to get people
2 away from camps into the settlements is on. An
3 obstacle therefore to staying on their land consisted
4 in being extremely ill at a time when for the short-
5 term anyway, you badly needed medical services. Medical
6 services were not delivered to camps. That was a
7 consequence of policy. Those are the kinds of obstacles
8 I am talking about. If I pause --

9 Q Would a lack of food
10 have been included in that as well -- life on the land
11 in some instances?

12 Oh on, not since -- well
13 I would be talking about a very large area now aren't
14 we. One with a multitude of ecological niches as far
15 as the Eskimo culture -- area -- is concerned. I
16 understand that in the barren lands, there was a food
17 problem among the Caribou Eskimo and the interior peoples.
18 A very small group indeed. Among the north Baffin
19 region, the Igloolik Eskimo, the coastal people of Baffin
20 Islands, south Baffin Island, I have never heard an
21 account of food shortage on any real scale. There were
22 periodic difficulties.

23 In the country on
24 the other hand going across towards Coppermine, then,
25 there were some more difficulties at about that time.
26 Again as a consequence of caribou herd changes.

27 Q Are you not prepared to
28 concede that there was anything in the community life at
29 all that they just naturally valued which wasn't imposed?

30 A I don't understand the

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 expression "naturally valued".

2 Q Naturally valued. In
3 other words, things that existed in settlement life and
4 could only exist in settlement life that they found
5 appealing. For instance, the women not being lonely
6 on the land but having other women to meet with.
7 For instance, the opportunity for community dancing
8 and this sort of thing. Was there anything like that
9 which they valued ?

10 A Again, I can only go on
11 what people said to me. I don't want to speculate
12 about what people were thinking and feeling at that
13 time. What they say to me about --

14 Q But you are willing
15 to speculate about other things.

16 A What they say to me
17 about that time is that there were shortages that
18 occurred in the camps and that in a settlement there
19 were no such shortages. That was a real benefit. What
20 they say to me about that time is that in the settlement
21 there was light and heat. In the camps sometime there
22 were difficulties about those things. But they also
23 say that in the settlements there was a whole set of
24 other difficulties. So the settlement had things that
25 attracted people in the form of services because those
26 services were not delivered to the camps. It wasn't
27 settlement life per se as I understand it from what I
28 have been told.

29 Q Well that is my -- well
30 first of all would you say it was an injustice that these

Reakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 various services were not delivered to the camps?

2 A Were you asking for --

3 Q A personal opinion.

4 A Oh yes, I am persuaded
5 that it was a very profound injustice and I regret that
6 the housing program policy change did an extreme in
7 many parts of the eastern Arctic at rate -- I don't
8 know about the west. When it was originally got
9 underway, housing was delivered to camps if the families
10 in camps chose to have the house in a camp rather than
11 in a settlement. This was done I think for two years
12 or one year. I am not sure how long, then suddenly
13 stopped and no more housing was delivered to camps.
14 That kind of policy change, I regret.

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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Q With respect to the things,
2 there were at least a few that you felt they did value
3 in settlement living, is it possible then that if you
4 choose -- this is what I was talking about, a mutually
5 exclusive choices area -- that if you choose some
6 things it necessarily means that you cannot therefore
7 choose others. You may wish to because you value them
8 as well, but the possibility seems to be excluded.

9 A Well, the movement to camps
10 here or perhaps we're both misled,
11 perhaps I misled you/ the movement to camps was not
12 a sudden thing. It wasn't a consequence of --

12 THE COMMISSIONER: You mean
13 the movement from camps.

14 A I'm sorry, I mean the
15 movement from camps to settlements was not a sudden
16 thing. It wasn't a decision taken today and tomorrow
17 we're living in a camp. There was a long period,
18 probably from 1955 to today and it continues, during
19 which people arranged themselves between camps and
20 settlements in varying balances. At the moment
21 in fact the camp balance in the Eastern Arctic has
22 gone up a bit; and the settlement balance has gone down.
23 So it's not the choice between climbing a mountain
24 and strolling through a valley. It's actually a
25 complicated social situation within which there are
26 all kinds of possible adjustments.

27 Q Yes, there are certainly some,
28 no doubt about that, but there are still some choices
29 which are mutually exclusive, there's no doubt about
30 that at all.

Reakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

A Well, living all year-around in a settlement and living part of the year on the land are mutually exclusive choices, yes, but unless you formulate a totalogy of that kind I don't see what you're getting at really.

Q O.K. You agree that acculturation is natural and inevitable, but that you feel that what's happened with respect to native northern people is not really acculturation, is that the correct understanding?

A Can we go back?

Acculturation is natural and inevitable, you say?

Q It seems to me, it was just implied, you didn't state that but I seem to gather that throughout history you accept the fact that acculturation takes place, cultures meet one another and --

A Social change takes place.

Q Social change,

O.K.

A Social change takes place, I agree to that.

Q That it does, and what is it that prompts social change then in those circumstances which -- oh, let's get to the second part then, but you feel that there is a qualitative difference in what has happened in the north.

MR. BAYLY: Can we have that

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 question broken down one at a time?

2 THE COMMISSIONER: I would
3 prefer to just allow Dr. Brody to comment on it and
4 in the form of a discussion rather than get too
5 legalistic about it.

6 MR. BAYLY: I'm not trying
7 to do that, sir. This is the first time that I've
8 said anything. It's just the first question that
9 I have no idea what the question is because it seems
10 to be two or three.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, Mr.
12 MacQuarrie, do you want to just start that line
13 of thinking off again?

14 MR. MacQUARRIE: O.K., I used
15 a term which you didn't agree with, but you do accept
16 the fact that social change is natural and inevitable.

17 A I've never heard of
18 anywhere in the world where social change doesn't
19 take place.

20 Q All right, do you feel
21 that there is a qualitative difference between social
22 change that has taken place in most places in the
23 world, and the kind of social change that has taken
24 place in Northern Canada in recent years?

25 A I don't know what propor-
26 tion of the world's societies have experienced
27 colonialist changes. It may be that the majority of
28 the world's societies have ^{experienced} or are experiencing
29 such changes, in which case I wouldn't say there was
30 anything structurally or systematically different in

Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 the Canadian north. There are, of course, very
2 special and important distinctive features.

3 Q At any rate, in most
4 cases of social change it's because two societies
5 meet and find in the opposite society something they
6 value, something that would give them --

7 A In most cases of
8 social change I would like to suggest that the
9 Arctic, or let's be more specific, the Tule
10 culture in the Arctic has since about 1200 been
11 experiencing social change, given our agreed
12 proposition all societies experience social
13 change. I don't see why we should want to say that
14 the Tule culture was experiencing social change be-
15 cause of contact with other cultures. Indeed, what
16 is striking about the Tule culture like so
17 many other aboriginal cultures, is their separation
18 from other societies, the fact that they evolve and
19 develop socially, morally and so on without--

20
21 Q That some social change
22 occurs as a result of invention within a society, I
23 agree with that; but other occurs as a result of
24 dispersion among societies.

25 A There's all kinds of social
26 change, is that what you're saying?

27 Q Well, those two
28 specifically; and when people do accept change by
29 dispersion, it is because they see something in another
30 society that they value and they adopt it.

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 A Yes.

2 Q All right.

3 A That's a complicated
4 question, or are you going back to the very beginning
5 now? The point is that the gun and such like often
6 has reached aboriginal people prior to those who
7 manufacture the gun and similar things, and they
8 come to use the gun and they can quite quickly become
9 dependent upon the gun and things of that kind. Things
10 possibly they cannot make or things perhaps they can't even
11 repair themselves. That happens. Once however they're
12 become dependent on the provision^{of} or the repairs to
13 this innovation, this new piece of technology, then
14 they are in a new relationship to the outsiders;
15 one which is liable to lead into dependence and subordination.

16 Q All right, and where two
17 societies are relatively equal in power and have very
18 few things that are different between them, that the rate
19 of social change as the result of dispersion would be
20 quite slow. Where there is a fairly rather large
21 difference between the two societies that come into
22 contact, the social change is likely to be more rapid.

23 A Depends on the purposes
24 weaker of the society. If one society is much stronger
25 than the other and it's determined to change the weaker
26 society, then that society is going to be changed
27 pretty rapidly.

28 Q And you're certain that
29 it is the determination to change the weak society. My point
30 ultimately is that you're suggesting all the way through

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 here, and this is what damages your recommendations
2 ultimately, is that an injustice was perpetrated by
3 people who, for some reason, wanted to damage another
4 group of people, and I don't accept that.

5 THE COMMISSIONER: Excuse me.
6 Mr. MacQuarrie, that's the thesis underlying your
7 questions and I think it's appropriate that you should
8 have stated it that way. Now, do you want to comment
9 on that thesis?

10 A The very last?

11 Q Yes.

12 A The last segment, you
13 mean?

14 Q Mr. MacQuarrie is getting
15 at that. He objects to many of the things you said
16 because he feels that the way he's just put it is
17 the theme of your whole argument.

18 A Well, I do want to comment
19 on that. It is not the theme of my whole argument.
20 I do not believe that those whites who came to the
21 north or indeed whites who go into any other part of
22 the colonialized or Third World wanted necessarily
23 themselves to make all kinds of changes to people
24 directly. Very often, they had effects they never
25 foresaw at all. Indeed, if you read in I think
26 chapter 5 or 6 of my book, "The People's Lands,"
27 an account of the settlement manager there, is a
28 contemporary example of what I think is very character-
29 istic of the kind of change you're talking about.
30 The settlement manager there who goes to a settlement

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 full of all kinds of intentions and purposes, but
2 because of the nature of the situation in which he
3 finds himself he quickly starts doing things objec-
4 tively, he doesn't think he's doing them but objec-
5 tively he is doing things that are quite contrary
6 to his general purpose and intention; and that can
7 happen.
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Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

MR. MacQUARRIE:

Q Thank you very much.

A Now it can happen, not necessarily but --

Q It's important to me that you say that, because if you feel that an injustice was not deliberately perpetrated, the tone of much of what you say and certainly much of many other advisors who have come to help native people say, implies that there was deliberate --

A All right. Let me harden up what I'm saying then, because I don't want to find myself on the softer end of this. I do think, missionaries and traders did want to change people, that's what they were out to do. They thought that the changes they were causing were good for the people, that they represented progress. Whether or not they were good for the people is a moot point. My own personal opinion is that in the case of the missionaries particularly, for they clearly, were not good people. In the case of the traders, they, generally speaking were not good for the people, although that's a slightly more complicated issue.

Those persons were quite clear about what they wanted to do and they wanted change and they used a great deal of heavy artillery to get those changes, metaphorically speaking.

Q Exercising their own powers rather than deliberately trying to injure somebody else.

A That's right, yes. Although, sometimes deliberately trying to --

1 Q Oh, I agree, yes. There
2 were instances of instances of injustice,
3 but I meant in a general way.

4 A Well, in a general way,
5 I think they threatened.

6 Q Pardon me?

7 A In a general way I think
8 the traders threatened to injure persons who did not
9 tow the traders line.

10 Q Eventually I would agree
11 that that was certainly the case in many settlements
12 yes.

13 On page eight, you do agree
14 that certain life transforming powers were irresistible
15 and I agree that they are.

16 A Can you point out to
17 me a line?

18 Q No, I don't have it, I
19 just know that that's the page.

20 A I have it.

21 Q You got it now?

22 A Yes.

23 Q Okay, that certain life
24 transforming powers are irresistible and I agree that
25 that's often true and that's what brings about social
26 change, we encounter things that we value and we're
27 induced to change.

28 A No, no, now I think we
29 are at cross purposes. When I say in this sentence,
30 these are irresistible life transforming powers established

1 themselves during the trade and mission era, I'm
2 talking about the missionaries and traders forcing
3 their purposes on native communities. That is not --
4 and I'm talking very self-consciously about things
5 that you're not talking about. I'm not talking about
6 things that the native people saw in the traders that
7 they would like to have had, like guns and other things,
8 I'm talking about the way in which traders and missionaries
9 determinedly and systematically forced change on native
10 people. That's what I mean by these irresistible life
11 transforming powers.

12 Q Are there other irresistible
13 life transforming powers as well, in addition?

14 A Well, perhaps not. I
15 mean that's a fair point. I think I would probably
16 want to call the other things, things that you're
17 talking about something different, not irresistible
18 life transforming powers.

19 Q Very well, but they do
20 exist and have a strong upheaval for people.

21 A Yes, like the appearance
22 of a gun amongst a hunting community that hasn't had
23 a gun before.

24 Q On page nine, you agree
25 that the native people themselves feel that they have
26 benefitted materially from changes that have taken
27 place --

28 A Could you repeat that
29 question.

30 Q You do, on page nine,

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 agree that native people feel that they have benefitted
2 materially from changes that have taken place.

3 A Yes.

4 Q Do you wish to qualify
5 that?

6 A Would I like to qualify
7 that?

8 Q Well, or -- well, I
9 thought I was going to proceed, but if you --

10 A No, I --

11 Q -- you want to qualify
12 in some way.

13 A Well, we'll see whether
14 we mean the same thing or not.

15 Q Okay. I find in the
16 paragraph which follows, however, that you --

17 A On the next page?

18 Q --meant that it is the
19 nature of material benefits -- perhaps I should read
20 that.

21 A I think you better read
22 it, yes. Oh yes, I have it here.

23 Q It is the nature of
24 material benefits that it's hard to imagine what it's
25 like to be without them once one has become dependent
26 upon them and that another fact of life, that increasing
27 benefits raise greater and greater obstacles to the
28 realization of aboriginal, social and economic
29 aspirations.

30 Now, these are facts of life,

Beakbust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 the two of them and I think that lamenting them doesn't
2 -- well you might as well lament the fact that lightning
3 kills people, for instance. In other words, they are
4 simply facts of life and if you lament something like
5 that, your quarrel is with God and not with people who
6 have particular powers.

7 A I'd like to answer your
8 question. It may be missing your point entirely but
9 I'll risk it.

10 Do you think it's irrelevant
11 and wrong somehow to lament the bombing of the Vietnamese?

12 Q No. Not at all --

13 A Or are they facts of life?

14 Q -- an act of injustice
15 is done that is very lamentable indeed.

16 A Well, I would argue you
17 see, that many of these acts were acts of injustice
18 on that analogy.

19 Q I'm talking specifically
20 about those phrases. It is in the nature of material
21 benefits themselves that it's hard to imagine what
22 it's like to be broke. In other words, the fact that
23 native people haven't experienced material benefits
24 it's hard for them, it's hard for us, it's hard for
25 everybody.

26 A Well --

27 Q We think differently
28 about things once we've experienced them.

29 A Perhaps I misunderstood
you. I thought you were referring to the great obstacles

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 to the realization of aboriginal, social and economic
2 aspirations. Those obstacles are things I lament
3 because very often I think they are the consequence of
4 injustices. Indeed sometimes they are injustices them-
5 selves, though we --

6 Q Injustices are lamentable,
7 but facts of life, while you may lament them if you wish,
8 but they don't --

9 A I'm not sure and I don't
10 want to sort of wax illogical at this
11 hearing, but I do think we perhaps ought to talk about
12 what you mean by a fact of life.

13 Q The fact, all right,
14 in history, native people have benefitted materially
15 by changes that have taken place, you state as much
16 yourself.

17 A Now that fact of life,
18 no I don't regard that as an injustice.

19 Q Now, okay.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Let me
21 see if I can help you both out. I usually fail utterly
22 in this sort of attempt, but as I understand Mr.
23 MacQuarrie, he is saying to you, when the white man
24 came to the north he brought with him a number of
25 things that the native people cannot now do without
26 nor do they wish to do without, health services, medical
27 care.

28 Now, the package, those are
29 the most obvious benefits that I doubt anyone would
30 dispute, now once you start listing them you get an

Beakhust. Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 argument about well, was that a good thing or not?

2 Now, Mr. MacQuarrie's saying,
3 as I understand it, well, it's a package. The native
4 people decided that on the whole, this package contained
5 certain benefits that they felt they could not do
6 without and so it meant that they became dependent in
7 many respects upon the white man and upon western
8 civilization which is what they were encountering.

9 Now then, Mr. MacQuarrie appears
10 to be saying that that whole process is one that we're
11 well acquainted with around the world, when western
12 civilization impinges upon an aboriginal society and
13 it's something we've all seen occur, it is natural
14 and virtually inevitable, it may be accompanied by
15 acts of individual injustice, but it is a historical
16 process rather than something that can be seen as
17 deliberate or malevolent in that sense.

18 Now I may be -- am I doing
19 justice to this?

20 MR. MacQUARRIE: That latter
21 was the point exactly. Rather than a deliberate
22 injustice perpetrating. I'll come later to why that
23 is important to me.

24 A May I answer that then?

25 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

26 A Unless of course, you
27 wish to give my answer too.

28 Q No, no, no, no, this is
29 a useful discussion, let's carry on and you --

30 A Well, I think my answer

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 to that is, look closely at what we mean by a package
2 here. People were not given -- were not presented with
3 a whole list of things and said now, all right, some
4 of things you want and some of these things you don't
5 want and find your package on this list.

6 They were told, here is a
7 package, say yes or no to it, and they were not in the
8 position to say no, because included in that list were
9 certain essential items. They were not in a position
10 by virtue of their political and socio-economics
11 subordination to say, actually, it's jolly nice of
12 you to come along and offer this and we're very keen
13 on it thanks to our last 50 years of experience on
14 items seven, eight and eleven. We'll take those and
15 let the rest we'll leave for the time being.

16 They were told, take items
17 one through fifteen or take none.
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Beakhurst, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

Q Well things that they felt they could not do without with cash from the fur trader and the rifle and so on and salvation from the missionary.

A Right and this developed as time went on. It's still the same situation now.

MR. STEEVES: I'm sorry I can't hear your answer.

A Did you not hear any of the last answer?

Q Just start with the last sentence.

A O.K. What I was going to add was that -- and this is a changing situation -- the package itself changes through time. Indeed one way of chronicling the history of southern intervention by in the north would be looking at the changing items on the package -- the different shape to the package.

What I quarrel with him in all this is somehow representing this fact of life as something inevitable and why we all have to put up with it when in fact, when this fact of life is a package which contains things which people depended upon and could not do without and also contains things they absolutely did not want. They were given a Hobson's choice.

Q Yes. Well let's suppose they valued education because they felt that it could give them power over kinds of things that they had come to value. Power for instance so that they wouldn't

Beakhust, Usher Brody.
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 have to depend on people like us to decide what they
2 feel and what they ought to want and this kind of thing.
3 They wanted that power.

4 A Is this a --

5 Q Pardon me?

6 A Is this a speculation
7 of what the Eskimos were wanting?

8 Q Yes. Supposing they
9 did. I won't say whether they do or whether they don't.
10 We'll leave that to the evidence that exists in society.
11 But supposing they do, the fact is that it cannot be
12 acquired without the sacrifice of certain other values.
13 It cannot be.

14 A Absolutely.

15 Q O.K. I would like now
16 to --

17 A Hold on I think that
18 Dr. Usher is anxious to have a word.

19 WITNESS USHER: I don't know
20 whether this would help clarify the discussion or not,
21 but it seems to me that when you talk about the
22 acceptance or rejection of a particular phenomenon,
23 you have to look exactly at what it is that's being
24 accepted and rejected. Now let's look, O.K. a gun.
25 You know. A trader comes in. He says "Here is a gun.
26 But it is more than a gun. There is a whole economic
27 system, a set of social and economic relationships which
28 are part of getting the gun.

29 THE COMMISSIONER: Yes, you
30 say that's the thin end of the wedge. I don't think

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 anyone is arguing about that.

2 A No, but that doesn't
3 seem to me clear from the discussion and the point that
4 I would like to make about this is that people are --
5 if you say well "Are you choosing the gun?" You say,
6 "Yes, I would like to have that gun". But they are not
7 even told in a sense what is involved in accepting the
8 gun. Just the same as now when we look at a pipeline,
9 a pipeline is not simply so many miles of 48" tubing
10 that goes from one place to another. It's a whole other
11 arrangement of things; social, economic, political and
12 so on. Anything that is induced in change is that, you
13 see now.

14 If people know what all the
15 consequences of accepting that are. If they say, "If
16 I accept a gun it is not simply that it is much easier
17 for me to get a caribou". It also means these other
18 things and that is made clear ^{to} people, then one might
19 I think be able to talk depending on the circumstances
20 about free choice.

21 MR. MacQUARRIE: Yes.

22 A But you say I add up all
23 the possible ramifications but in most of these instances
24 no such knowledge was available to people. In many
25 cases it was deliberately hidden from people and therefore
26 I don't see how one can possibly talk about free choice.
27 Now that, it seems to me, is the benefit of an Inquiry
28 like this where maybe for the first time we can start
29 looking at all the consequences that are entailed in
30 this kind of a thing and maybe people then will have a

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 better understanding of what they are accepting or
2 rejecting.

3 Q Yes, no doubt about it.
4 Two points that I would like to make in addition is
5 that often the man who offered the gun had no idea of
6 what the consequences would be as well.

7 A Yes, that's true
8 That's true.

9 Q Pardon me.
10 WITNESS BRODY:
11 A The trader or the
12 missionary who offered the gun had a very clear of some
13 idea of the consequences --

14 Q Not about the subsequent
15 developments that would take place within society.
16 That's just beyond the comprehension of most people.
17 I certainly agree with you that if you accept something
18 like education, if you do, because you value it, that
19 needn't mean you accept everything along with it.
20 I agree then you should accept only what is necessary
21 and still try to preserve the other values that, you
22 know, that hold around it. I don't say that you know,
23 "Take one thing and that means you take everything".
24 That's not my point at all.

25 A Well then perhaps you
26 and I might agree upon a basic objection to what has
27 happened in the north. That is that people have not
28 been given that precise possibility.

29 Q In any case. Oh yes,
30 no doubt about it. But I feel also that by some of
the things that you are saying they are still not

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 getting it because you have put kind of a slant onto
2 it which makes many people feel both among natives and
3 among whites that you are implying that an injustice
4 was done. That's beside the point.

5 A Are you saying -- are
6 you attributing to me the view that natives nowadays
7 are still in this position of having to accept packages?

8 Q No not at all because
9 of many factors, education largely one of them, they
10 are certainly able to pick and choose because they are
11 aware of consequences and alternatives which is a very
12 very good thing in my opinion.

13 A Well I don't think we do
14 agree. I think there are many situations especially
15 vis a vis industrial development in the smaller
16 communities where the package syndrome exists exactly
17 as it always has done.

18 Q O.K. Conceded and I
19 would like to get to Dr. Usher.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: Just before
21 you leave Dr. Brody -- could I just ask you and Dr.
22 Brody whether you can comment on this? The penetration
23 of the fur trade and the involvement of native people
24 in the fur trade and so on and so forth, I think we have
25 heard a good deal about that. The one thing that you
26 and other commentators may be you have done it elsewhere
27 but not here have not said very much about is the
28 adoption -- I am looking for a neutral word -- the
29 adoption of Christianity by northern native peoples.

30 Now, the natives appear to have

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 accepted Christianity swiftly and in many respects
2 completely within a very -- very soon after contact.
3 Is there any explanation for that. They appear to have
4 discarded their own religions. The process seems to
5 have been rather more voluntary than there their hooked
6 in to the world economy through the fur trade.

7 Now, I --

8 A I would like to comment
9 on that. It is a thing that very few people have ever
10 taken on. It is one of the problem areas in northern
11 history I think. It raises very interesting questions
12 about social change and such like. But I think the
13 nature of the problem itself needs to be examined a bit.
14 You say as many people do in fact, native persons
15 accepted Christianity wholeheartedly shortly after
16 contact.

17 Strictly speaking, that isn't
18 as true as one might think. It wasn't very soon after
19 contact. Contact was taking place in most areas in the
20 early --

21 Q Finding contact with the
22 arrival of missionaries.

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Beakhust, Usher, Brody.
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

A Missionaries came in the wake, as well as these other things I've been describing. Very crudely my argument about the missionaries says the ground was well prepared by traders, in some cases even policemen, in many, many cases by way of -- the ground was well prepared in all the ways I've been talking about; and another consideration of some importance is ^{that} like the gun, the Bible went ahead with the missionaries themselves. I doubt that after 1900 there was any community the missionary got to that had not heard a good deal about Christianity and had already begun to make certain accommodations to it. Perhaps this digression is too long, maybe, perhaps the prime consideration should be that how passively native people acquiesced in the churches, the wishes and the intentions is a moot point. Because of the whole nature of the relationship between native people and white, there was a strong tendency to sense that any information that might be unfavorably received. So the extent that shamanistic elements and Christian elements existed is a thing which very few of the commentators of the day would have had any idea about and would not have been allowed to see it. That continues today. I had worked in the north for three years before anybody would talk to me ^{with} any length with any forthrightness about shamanism and what it means to them and what it has meant to them and the kind of adjustment they had to make to Christianity. I think very often straightforwardness was made to seem --

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

THE COMMISSIONER:
Right. Thank you.

MR. MacQUARRIE: May I address
a couple of last comments to Dr. Usher then?

THE COMMISSIONER: Yes.

MR. MacQUARRIE: I find that
the recommendations that you make generally are very
good, as far as I'm concerned. I haven't the time
to go into all of them and this sort of thing, but at
any rate generally very good.

Q Do you find among other
whites who live in the north, and southerners, that
there is antagonism to that kind of settlement?

WITNESS USHER: I'm sorry.
Do I find that among --

Q Yes, I suppose you just
first presented this paper now, but I suppose that
you talked to people in the past about the kind of
settlement that natives should have in the north.
Do you find that there is antagonism towards that
kind of settlement?

THE COMMISSIONER: Among
whites?

A Among whites in the north.

MR. MacQUARRIE: And also
southerners.

A Yes, I do.

Q Why would you say that's
so?

A Why do I think that they
feel antagonistic?

Reakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

Q Yes.

A I don't want to get into ascribing motives. I have only to go on what people actually say to me or what perhaps I read in the daily or weekly press in the north. I think I'd better restrict my comments to that. There are a lot of people who come to the north with the intention of, in their view bettering themselves economically, and they find that any suggestion that development should not take place or should be delayed by any length of time threatens their own economic interest quite directly. So I certainly don't blame them in that sense for feeling antagonistic. It seems to me obvious that they would feel upset about that kind of a settlement. I think also that people have -- well, if I read the kinds of things they seem to express concern about correctly -- that they have certain notions about, oh, individual and collective rights, Canadian Federation, the legal and political system that we have, and they look at some of these settlement proposals and find themselves uncomfortable with them, and you know, that's their perception. Fine, but it does seem to me that it's for those kinds of reasons that people find themselves in many cases quite uncomfortable with some of the proposals that are put forward.

THE COMMISSIONER: Well, isn't it that many people feel that the Canadian tradition is one which -- let me put it this way, that the notion of people of a certain race having special

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 rights in respect of the land and in respect of their
2 own educational system of educating their children,
3 certain people of a given race having the right to
4 govern themselves with respect to certain things that
5 are vital to them. Many people feel that that is
6 inconsistent with the Canadian tradition which may
7 or may not be a sound interpretation of Canadian
8 history, but that seems to be at the bottom of a good
9 deal of the opposition. Now, we've heard evidence
10 here and of course the history of our country is
11 present in all of our minds, but we've heard evidence
12 here that indicates that part of the Canadian tradition
13 has been to confer special rights on people of certain
14 races or holding certain cultural things in common
15 -- language, religion, and so on. But that -- I
16 would -- sorry to interrupt you again, sir, but that's
17 another, that's what you were getting at just now
18 anyway.

19 A Yes, yes certainly.

20 I think in a sense one of the key things is for most
21 Canadians faced with ^{this} situation, it's true some
22 this evidence has come up that suggests it is consis-
23 tent with our traditions. Well, I won't speculate as
24 to whether it's the majority or the minority, but
25 obviously some Canadians are either unaware of that
26 aspect of our tradition or do not agree with it.
27 Hence their argument with it, I suppose, and I think
28 that part of that stems from our conception of what
29 Canada is as a nation, and as a society, and whether or
30 not in fact native people are or should be part of

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 that society. People hold some very strong feelings
2 about that. One way and another, and obviously there
3 are lots of people who don't feel comfortable with some
4 of the proposals that are being put forward.
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Beakhusht, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 MR. MacQUARRIE: And I would
2 say that I agree that there is that kind of antagon-
3 ism, especially a good point there. That accounts for
4 a lot of it. I feel, though, that certainly ^{it} isn't it
5 because the majority of Canadians wish an injustice
6 on the native people of the north. Any hesitation
7 about that kind of settlement comes from fear of
8 an injustice to themselves in some way, for instance
9 by their institutions being undermined, you know, that
10 they believe in very dearly and so on?

11 A M-hm.

12 Q And also part of it
13 comes as a result of the implication that we or our
14 forebearers have deliberately acted unjustly in the
15 past, and that this is what makes a settlement more
16 difficult, this is the point of my whole speech this
17 afternoon. This is why -- it wasn't supposed to be a speech
18 I guess -- but this is why I feel that that kind of
19 a presentation undermines exactly what you're trying
20 to do. Far better if you outlined the critical
21 problems that exist in the north right now and why
22 it's necessary not only for native people but for all
23 of us to try to control the forces of economics and
24 technology that are having damaging implications in
25 all our lives and why because of the circumstances the
26 native people find themselves in, it's especially
27 necessary for everyone else in order to act justly
28 to try to confer some special rights and some special
29 considerations. I think if you took that approach you
30 would find much more acceptance on the part of other

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 Canadians.

2 A O.K. Now, I guess you've
3 misunderstood in a sense what I was trying to get at
4 this morning, and that may well be my fault for not
5 expressing it properly. You know, I tried to say
6 in a couple of places, it's not some kind of a sinister
7 plot or malevolence on peoples' part. You know, what
8 I'm trying to get at is to look at the forces operating
9 in our -- in the history of our society that has
10 created this situation. It is not one where a bunch of
11 evil-minded people come in and say, "Look, let's see if
12 we can't screw these people."

13 By and large it's not that.
14 There are obviously some people who say that, but by
15 and large most don't, including most of the white people
16 who live in the north.

17 M R. SCOTT: I am reluctant
18 to intervene, but it seems to me that this discussion
19 is leading to little productive utility, if we go
20 back over this question. Isn't the difficulty that
21 perhaps the panel and members sitting here don't
22 recognize that an injustice is capable of two meanings,
23 and an unjust thing can occur without any ill-will or
24 maliciousness. The Vietnam War may be regarded as
25 unjust, but no one would say that President Kennedy who
26 started it was by that fact an unjust man. In other
27 words, is it necessary to get in either on the --

28 THE COMMISSIONER: Or that
29 Americans are unjust.

30 MR. SCOTT: Or that all Americans

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 are unjust or that the people who fought in the war
2 on the American side were unjust, even though they
3 did an unjust result.

4 MR. MacQUARRIE: It is very,
5 very important to make the distinction, because it's
6 the implication of injustice is there, and it makes
7 some people who feel that they have been treated
8 unjustly resentful of those they suppose treated them
9 unjustly. If it's force of history, then they are
10 lamentable at that everybody ought to work together
11 to try to do something.

12 MR. SCOTT: Well, it seems to
13 me that the assigning of motives either by the panel,
14 if that's what their evidence means, and by the question-
15 er doesn't really get us to the important issues that
16 have to be here considered, which is what happened,
17 and analyzing whether the motives were good or bad, it
18 seems to me, is totally beside the point. We're dealing
19 with historical facts.

20 THE COMMISSIONER: You know,
21 I appreciate all of that, Mr. Scott, but I found this
22 useful and I suspect these authorities on the north
23 -- which all three of them are -- have found it
24 useful and some of the things they've said ^{and written} are not
25 easily understood, and we've gotten along pretty well.
26 How are you getting on? We can easily stop right about
27 now, but we'll --

28 MR. MacQUARRIE : O.K., I'm
29 ready to stop too. The last thing I would like to say
30 is I disagree with Mr. Scott. I agree very much with

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 what Dr. Usher said in his last statement. All I say
2 is that if that is the point, then it should be stated
3 very forthrightly and it should always be part of the
4 central theme.

5 MR. SCOTT: Well, Mr.
6 Commissioner, I think we can bring that full circle
7 because I'm morally certain that if the questioner
8 disagrees with me and agrees with Mr. Usher, that
9 Mr. Usher probably agrees with me.

10 WITNESS USHER: I don't know
11 if I can just finish the one or two sentences that
12 I was going to.

13 THE COMMISSIONER: You finish
14 your two sentences, then we'll hear from Mr. Steeves.

15 MR. STEEVES: Well, I want
16 to hear what Dr. Usher has to say.

17 A I certainly agree with
18 Mr. Scott. Whose motives -- the question here is
19 not essentially the point. It is whether or not people
20 meant it we know that an injustice was done so far
21 as the people against whom it was perpetrated see it.
22 Now if we are in a position to know that, surely we
23 are in a position to do something about it and that
24 is the point. If you don't know why the heck something
25 happened and if you see it as an act of God or an
26 uncontrollable force, especially with a capital H,
27 then I suggest to you there isn't much we can do
28 about it. But if we try and analyze this situation,
29 and understand what it is that's going on, quite
30 apart from individuals' motives, then maybe we can

Beakhust, Usher, Brody
Cross-Exam by MacQuarrie

1 do something about it. That's the purpose of what
2 I tried to put across this morning.

3 THE COMMISSIONER: Well, O.K.
4 Well, thank you, Mr. MacQuarrie. We're glad that
5 you were able to come and let me say that your style
6 is different from Mrs. MacQuarrie's, but both of you
7 have done very well. I mean that, I hope no one thinks
8 I'm saying these things just to be a good guy.

9 Well, ten o'clock tomorrow?

10 M R. SCOTT: Yes sir.

11 THE COMMISSIONER: O.K.

12 (PROCEEDINGS ADJOURNED TO JULY 22, 1976)
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347

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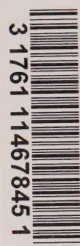
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Vol. 167



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